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THE HISTORY OF NATIONS
HENRY CABOT LODGE, Ph.D., LL.D. EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

CHINA

by

SIR ROBERT K. DOUGLAS

Professor of Chinese, King's College, London

With special Article

LATE EVENTS AND PRESENT CONDITIONS

by

JEREMIAH W. JENKS, Ph.D., LL.D.

Professor of
Political Economy and Politics
Cornell University

Volume VI

Illustrated

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PREFACE

THE antiquity of China is so great, and the history of the Empire covers so vast a period, that it is difficult to compress the whole subject within the limits of a single volume. It was determined, therefore, to limit the record, in the present instance, to the annals of the Empire from the time of Marco Polo to the present day, which constitutes by far the most important period.

As is well known, the Chinese possess histories of their various dynasties, and they attempt to insure that these should be truthful records by ruling that the events of each dynasty should not be described by contemporary historians, but by authors under the succeeding régime. It might be supposed that this system would entail the compilation of biased and *ex parte* chronicles. But happily Chinese historians, like the rest of their countrymen, are so devoid of patriotism that they have no inducement to pervert facts, or to trim their sails to the necessities of party feeling. Generally truthful as these historians are, however, their works yet labor under the defect common to all Oriental histories of being records of the court and camp rather than of the life of the people; and it is only by reference to miscellaneous sources that it has been possible to obtain the side lights necessary to illustrate the true progress of the nation.

Among the authorities I have consulted are the following: The native dynastic histories; the "Sheng Wu Ki," or the wars of the present dynasty, by Wei Yuen; various native biographical works; the *Peking Gazette,* the oldest newspaper in the world; the Parliamentary Blue Books; the histories of China by Wells, Williams, Boulger, and Macgowan; "The Jesuits in China," by R. Jenkins; "A Narrative of Events in China," by Lord Loch; "The Ever-Victorious Army," by Andrew Wilson, besides many others which have been made use of for comparison or reference.

Robert K. Douglas

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PART I

THE EMPIRE BEFORE THE OPENING OF FOREIGN RELATIONS. 2500 B. C-1796 A. D.

HISTORY OF CHINA

Chapter I

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE EMPIRE
2500 B.C.-1100 A.D.

OF all the great empires of antiquity, China alone has preserved her existence in defiance of the disintegrating effects of time and the assaults of her enemies. While the ancient empires of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria have waxed and waned, she has maintained her position in the Eastern world, and has enlarged rather than diminished her boundaries.

The earliest existing records of the people describe them as a small body of settlers dwelling in the fertile regions of northeastern China, in the neighborhood of the Yellow River. By degrees as they consolidated their empire and established a definite form of government, they forced back the native tribes which had originally hemmed them in, and extended their rule over the regions lying to the west and south of their original location. As centuries went by they threw out colonies into the outer regions, and after the manner which may still be observed in their dealings with the Manchurians and Mongolians, made these colonies first centers for the spread of Chinese influence, and then bases on which to work the lever of empire. Pushing on in this way they crossed the Yang-tsze-kiang southward in the third century B. C., and thenceforth adding province to province they established the empire as it now exists. Throughout their whole history they have shown a marked capacity for acquiring territory, and this rather by the peaceful method of settling on the neighboring lands than by invasion and conquest. They have none of the characteristics of a warlike race, and their triumphs over less cultivated peoples have been gained rather by peaceful advance than by force of arms. In almost every respect we are taught by their records that they differed essentially from the tribes by whom they first found themselves surrounded, and hence the question naturally arises who they were, and whence they came.

Many suggestions have been made as to the earlier habitat of this people. It has been surmised that they may have migrated from the plains of Sennaar; that they were a colony from Egypt; and that they possessed a Scythic origin. No proofs in support of these guesses at history have been, however, forthcoming, and it was reserved for the late Professor Terrien de Lacouperie to establish with many incontestable proofs the theory that they had migrated eastward from a region on the south of the Caspian Sea in about the twenty-third century B. C. In support of his proposition Professor Terrien de Lacouperie was able to show a marked connection between many of the primitive written characters of the languages of Akkadia and China; as well as a marked affinity between the religious, social, and scientific institutions and beliefs of the two peoples. In the twelve Pastors, among whom the Emperor Yao (2085-2004 B. C.) apportioned the empire, he saw a reflection of the twelve Pastor Princes of Susiana. In the worship of Shang-Ti and the six Honored Ones he recognized the supreme god and the six subordinate deities of the Susians. In the knowledge possessed by the Chinese of astronomy and medicine he recognized an identity with the condition of those sciences in Mesopotamia; and he also drew attention to the fact which recent excavations in Babylonia have brought to our knowledge, that the canals and artificial water-ways of China suggest a striking likeness to the canals with which the whole of Babylonia must have been intersected, and which cannot but have been as characteristic a feature of that country as similar works are of China at the present day.

Vast migrations have been by no means uncommon in Asiatic history, and even as late as the end of the eighteenth century a body of Kalmucks, numbering six hundred thousand, journeyed from the frontiers of Russia to the confines of China. This migration, which De Quincey has made immortal, is but an example of the movements which have constantly taken place in the populations of Asia. Plague, famine, political disturbances have all had their influences in the constant distribution of the tribes and nations of the East, and there is, therefore, nothing improbable in the supposed movement of the Chinese tribes from Mesopotamia to the banks of the Yellow River. It is unnecessary here to discuss at any further length the early habitat of the Chinese people. In this work we are mainly interested in them after their arrival in China, and for the purpose of this preliminary sketch we are not called upon to go beyond the traditional records of the nation.

In the native histories the records of the race are traced back to a period which dwarfs into insignificance the antiquity of Egypt or Chaldea, and though their earlier pages rest on no better foundation than traditional fables, there is yet preserved a substratum of fact on which it is safe to rest. Like the first founders of every imperial race the Chinese leaders of antiquity are represented as possessing the wisdom, and almost the power of the gods. One of their first leaders, Fuhsi by name, has earned eternal fame as having designed the six classes of written characters; invented the system of horary and cyclical notation; and established the laws of marriage, as well as having devised the celebrated eight Diagrams which are popularly supposed to be the basis of the renowned "Book of Changes." His successor, Shennung, is supposed to have instructed the people in agriculture; to have established public markets; and to have discovered the medicinal properties lying dormant in the herbs of the field. In the portraits common to official biographies, this ancient sage is depicted chewing a long stalk of some herb, which from the expression of his face is plainly unpleasant to the taste, however efficacious it may be as a medicine. Hwangti, the next sovereign, came to the throne, such as it was, in 2332 B. C. Like those of his predecessors his reign was long, and is said to have extended over a full century. He taught his people to manufacture utensils of wood, pottery, and metal, and invented a medium of currency. Professor Terrien de Lacouperie finds a resemblance between his second name, Nai Hwangti, and the Nakhunte of Elamite history, and is of opinion that he never ruled in China. But however that may be, native historians dwell on his wisdom and virtue with untiring unction.

With the advent to power of the Emperor Yao (2085-2004 B. C.) the purely fabulous chapters of Chinese history may be said to come to a close, and at this point Confucius takes up the pen. According to that sage Yao was "all informed, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful." With a godlike instinct he ruled the "black-haired" race, and by the influence of his example, as Confucius insists, he led all men to him. Under his benign administration the frontiers of the empire were extended from 23°

to 40° north latitude, and from 6° west of Peking to 10° east of that city. On his becoming a "guest on high," Shun was chosen to succeed him, and it was during the reign of this monarch that a great flood, which was considered by the early Jesuit missionaries to have been the flood of Noah, devastated large districts of the Chinese states. *Pace* the missionaries, this catastrophe was probably nothing more than one of those outbreaks of the Yellow River which periodically lay waste the country lying on its banks. In this case Yü, a certain official, was appointed to lead the waters back to their original channel. His labors, we are told, extended over nine years, and we are asked to believe that so absorbed was he in his work that he thrice passed the door of his house without once stopping to enter. As a reward for this signal service he was raised to the throne on the death of Shun, and became the first sovereign of the Hsia Dynasty (1954-1687 B. C.). Among the other exploits of this sovereign was a redivision of the empire into nine instead of eleven provinces, a description of which rearrangement was engraved, for the benefit of posterity, on nine brazen vessels; and as a crowning testimony to his worth, an inscription on a stone monument, raised for the purpose on Mount Hêng, recorded the benefits which he is believed to have conferred on his subjects.

Sixteen sovereigns ruled in succession to Yü, and as has been constantly the case, not only in China, but in other Oriental countries, there was a woeful falling off in his successors on the throne from the higher standard which the founder of the dynasty had set them. The earnestness and single-mindedness which belonged to Yü, and on which the native historians delight to linger, no longer animated his unworthy followers on the throne. Self-indulgence and cruelty became more and more accentuated as ruler after ruler accepted the scepter of empire, until all the worst passions of his predecessors found expression in the conduct of Chieh Kwei, who reigned from 1739 to 1687 B. C. According to the traditional belief of the ancient Chinese, a belief which was strongly insisted upon by the philosopher Mencius, it becomes the bounden duty of a people to raise the standard of rebellion when the ruler persistently acts in opposition to the laws of heaven. Such a crisis had now arrived. By public oppression of the people, and private outrages on their properties and persons, Chieh Kwei placed himself beyond the pale. With one consent his subjects rose against him under the leadership of a man named T'ang, "the Complete," who justified this epithet by dethroning the emperor and proclaiming himself sovereign by the grace of God.

The story of the Shang or Yin Dynasty, as it is variously called, is but a repetition of that of Hsia. The virtuous impetus which placed the scepter in T'ang's hand was gradually dissipated in the twenty-eight reigns which followed in succession to his. Historians make a distinction in favor of one or two of his descendants, but the general tendency was downward and like another Chieh Kwei, Chow Sin brought the dynasty to an end by his crimes and iniquities. "Wild extravagance, unbridled lust, and the most ferocious cruelty are enumerated among his vices. To please his infamous concubine, T'aki, he constructed vast palaces and pleasure grounds where every form of wild debauchery was continually practiced." As was said by a famous statesman of the time, "the house of Yin can no longer exercise rule over the four quarters of the empire. The great deeds of our founder have enjoyed and still enjoy a wide renown, but we by being lost and maddened with wine have destroyed the effects of his virtue in these latter days. The people of Yin, both small and great, are given to highway robberies, villainies, and treachery. The nobles and officers imitate one another in violating the laws. Evil-doers receive no punishment, and the people rise up and commit violent outrages on one another. The dynasty of Yin is now sinking to its ruin. Its condition is like one crossing a river who can find neither ford nor bank."

To the remonstrances of his ministers Chow Sin turned a deaf ear, and, in a conversation reported by Confucius, comforted himself with the reflection that as emperor he was under the protection of high heaven. "Your crimes," replied the officer, "which are many, are chronicled above, and how can you speak of your fate as though it were in the charge of heaven? Yin will shortly perish. As to your deeds they can but bring ruin on the country." This prophecy was soon to be fulfilled. A leader of rebellion was found in the "Warlike Prince," who drove the emperor from his throne and urged him to suicide. This action, which has all the appearance of being revolutionary, was nevertheless strictly in accordance with Chinese morality and met with the entire approval of the philosopher, Mencius. "He who outrages benevolence," said that sage, "is called a ruffian: he who outrages righteousness is called a villain. The ruffian and the villain we call a mere fellow. I have heard of the cutting off of the fellow Chow, but I have not heard of the putting of a ruler to death."

Following the usual precedent of successful rebel leaders the "Warlike Prince" seized the imperial scepter with the full approval of the nation. Historians of every class, from Confucius downward, have poured unceasing praise on the administration of the usurper, who, if these authorities are to be believed, was graced with every virtue that befits a monarch. By his magnanimous conduct he fulfilled the criterion of an exemplary ruler laid down by Confucius, by drawing all men to him. During his reign embassies arrived from the kings of Korea, Cochin China, and other distant regions. In his warlike expeditions he was uniformly successful, and he left to his successor a frontier which was respected by his enemies and an empire which was the envy of his allies. Happily for the state the succeeding two or three sovereigns worthily maintained the standard set them by their great predecessor. They consolidated the empire and secured the loyalty and service of the feudal states. History does not concern itself much with the majority of the later rulers of the house of Chow, as the new dynasty was styled, but draws attention with some emphasis to Mu Wang (1001-946 B. C.), and finds food for reflection in his conduct. To his charge is laid the crime of having introduced the system of redeeming offenses by the payment of fines, and of having thus set the example of bribery and corruption which has since wrought such havoc in the morals of the people and their rulers. On the other side of the shield there is told of him that he prosecuted successful wars against the tribes on the western frontier, a fact which has given rise to a legendary account of a journey which he is supposed to have made to the borders of the Lake of Gems, where he is said to have been hospitably entertained, with all the delights of a Mussulman's Paradise, by the "Royal Mother of the West."

Rightly to understand the condition of the country at this period, it is necessary to remember that the kingdom was formed of a congeries of states, each of which was ruled over by its own sovereign, and each of which owed the limp and uncertain fealty common to subordinate Oriental princedoms to the elected sovereign of the predominant kingdom of Chow. No common patriotism bound these feudatories to their liege lord, and it was only by the strength of his right arm that he preserved his lordship over them. Any sign of the weakening of his authority was naturally the signal for a rising on the part of the more restless princekins against his power. As time went on and the Chow state fluctuated in wealth and influence, the uprisings of the more ambitious feudatories became more threatening and frequent. The country became distracted by obscure quarrels, and open disorder, until as the philosopher Mencius graphically writes: " A host marches and stores of provisions are consumed, the hungry are deprived of their food, and there is no rest for those who are called on to toil. Maledictions are uttered from one to another with eyes askance, and the people proceed to the commission of wickedness. Then the royal ordinances are violated, the people are oppressed, and the supplies of food and drink flow away like water. The rulers yield themselves to the current or they urge their way against it. They are wild, they are lost. The crime of him who connives at it and aids the wickedness of his ruler is small, but the crime of him who anticipates and excites that wickedness is great. The great officers of the present day are all guilty of this latter crime, and I say that they are sinners against the princes. Sage kings do not arise, and the princes of the states give reins to their lusts. In their stalls there are fat beasts, and in their stables there are fat horses; but their people have the look of hunger, and in their fields there are those who have died of famine. This is leading on beasts to devour men."

It was while the country was in a condition similar to that described above that Confucius was born. We might leave the legendary accounts of his miraculous birth and early days to the recounters of fables, and it is only necessary for us here briefly to consider his influence on politics. To students of Chinese history that influence appears to be out of all proportion to the weight of his words, and the convincing force of his doctrines. He found the empire tempest-tossed with faction and disloyalty, and he believed it to be his mission to lead back the sovereign and his people to the orthodox condition of affairs which existed when Yao meted out the heavens and the " Warlike Prince " exercised his patriarchal sway. His constant theme was the virtue of the ancient sages, and his panacea for all political ills was a return to the traditional virtue of those great men. During his lifetime he was scouted by not a few rulers and princekins, and achieved success only when his influence was regarded as necessary for the support of some ruler or cause. It was only after his death that people turned to him as to a great leader of mankind, and for more than three and twenty centuries his teachings have been the guiding star of the nation through all its many changes and chances. Loudly he deplored the anarchy of the time, and as an illustration in point it is told of him that on one occasion as he journeyed from his native state to that of Ch'i he saw a woman weeping by a tomb at the roadside, to whom, having compassion upon her, he sent a disciple to ask the cause of her grief. "You weep," said the messenger, "as if you had experienced sorrow upon sorrow." "I have," said the woman. "My father-in-law was killed here by a tiger, and my husband also; and now my son has met the same fate." "Why then do you not move from this place?" asked Confucius. "Because here there is no oppressive government," answered the woman. Turning to his disciples Confucius remarked, "My children, remember this: oppressive government is fiercer than a tiger."

In spite, however, of the warnings of Confucius and the more philosophical teachings of Lao Tsze, the founder of Taoism, disorders increased on every side, and there were not wanting ominous signs which were regarded by native authorities as foretelling the downfall of the Chow Dynasty. The brazen vessels which had been set up by the great Yü were seen to shake and totter as though presaging a political catastrophe; famine and pestilence stalked through the land; and on all sides men's hearts failed them for fear. It is at such times as these that an ambitious leader can find his opportunity, and in this case the ruler of the Ch'in Dynasty, seizing his advantage, made war against the imperial state, which was already tottering to its fall. After a series of victories he claimed the throne by right of conquest, and established himself as the first sovereign of the short-lived Ch'in Dynasty. Neither this man nor his two successors on the throne were men of mark, and if it had not been for the sovereign who followed them the imperial line would have sunk into oblivion "unwept, unhonored, and unsung." They initiated little and accomplished little, but this at least cannot be said of their successor.

The evils of the feudal system had long been patent, but no one had hitherto arisen who was bold enough so to fly in the face of precedent and history as to attempt a reform in the constitution. Ascribing all the evils under which his country had so long suffered to the system which for so many years had guided its destiny, Shih Hwangti determined once and for all to put an end to the petty jealousies among the states by establishing an empire, and proclaiming himself the first universal sovereign.

To this reform the literary classes offered a determined opposition. All the national love for antiquity accentuated by the sayings and writings of Confucius and his followers was outraged by this draconic measure. They pointed back to the halcyon days when the "Warlike Prince" and his immediate followers ruled over the united states in peace and harmony, and quoted the works edited by Confucius as evidence of the prosperous condition which existed under those favored circumstances. So serious was the opposition thus presented that the emperor, who knew nothing of half measures, determined to wrest from his critics the evidences which they were so fond of producing. With this intention he issued an edict commanding that all the existing literature in the country, with the exception of works on divination and medicine, should be destroyed. From the nature of this decree it was plainly impossible that it could be carried out in its entirety. But so far as possible it was given effect to, notwithstanding the determined resistance of the *Literati,* many of whom perished at the block rather than commit their cherished volumes to the flames. To a certain extent the immediate effect of the measure was successful, and the prosperity which the new policy secured for the nation at large gained for its author very general support. With genuine zeal he also set himself to improve the material condition of the country, and recognizing the importance, both political and commercial, of providing means of communication between the several states, he constructed roads in all directions, spanned the river with bridges, and encouraged by every method in his power the means of locomotion. At this time the Tartars were constantly threatening the northern frontier, and realizing that it was as necessary to protect his subjects from foreign foes as to promote their internal prosperity, he constructed the Great Wall, which, stretching from the sea at the 120th degree of longitude, and fringing the northern frontier of the empire to the 100th degree, still stands as a monument of the energetic administration of this great sovereign. Unhappily, no hereditary instincts guided his successor into his paths, and during the short reign—three years—of this last emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty, the country, instead of advancing toward consolidation, became the prey of constant civil war, and of every form of brigandage.

With dramatic propriety a leader arose at this troublous period who showed himself to be a man standing head and shoulders above his compeers. The historian of the Han Dynasty tells us that, like another Macbeth, when first taking the field this man encountered a soothsayer who foretold his future greatness. With commendable rapidity this prophecy was fulfilled, and the object of it was universally hailed as the first emperor of a new dynasty, to which he gave the title of Han from the name of his native state.

Time had at length accustomed the people of all classes to the abolition of the feudal states, and the new emperor, Kaoti, felt that there was no longer any need to cut the nation adrift from the sheet anchor of its native literature. The *Literati* also were still hankering after their literary gods. Their influence was also plainly an appreciable quantity, and Kaoti determined to secure it on his behalf by resuscitating such works as it was possible to recover. Under his protecting influence the *Literati* undertook the congenial task of searching for any stray copies of the classics and other works which might have escaped the holocaust of the books. Phœnix-like the old literature rose from its ashes. From the sides of caves, from the roofs of houses, and the banks of rivers, volumes were produced by those who had risked their lives for their preservation, and history states that from the lips of old men were taken down ancient texts which had everywhere perished except in the retentive memories of veteran scholars. While reversing this part of the work of the first great emperor, Kaoti followed his example in still further improving the means of communication in the empire, and to engineers employed by him belongs the credit, among other enterprises, of having constructed the first suspension bridges known to exist in the world.

The Han period is universally regarded by Chinamen as one of the most glorious epochs in their history. They know no prouder title than that by which they delight to be called, the Sons of Han, and this is no doubt mainly due to the extraordinary revival of letters which took place under the new line of sovereigns. It is true that Kaoti shared to some extent the suspicions entertained of the *Literati* by the burner of the books, but his successors, taking a truer view of the position, did all that lay in their power to encourage the literary spirit of the nation. So keen was the zeal of the people in the cause that not only were the old texts restored, but a new and scholarly school of letters was brought into being. In every branch of literature the greatest activity was displayed, and whereas it may be said that when Kaoti ascended the throne in 206 B. C. polite literature was non-existent, the fact remains that before the dawn of the Christian era the imperial library possessed upon its shelves 3123 works on the classics, 2705 on philosophy, and 1383 on poetry. But not alone in the peaceful paths of literature did the empire make giant strides at this period. The nation's arms and diplomacy were carried far beyond the frontier into the little known region of central Asia. In the second century B. C. the envoy Chang Ch'ien visited the court of eastern Turkestan, and two centuries later an army under General Pan Ch'ao marched to Khoten, and even carried their country's flag to the shores of the Caspian Sea. On the southern and northeastern frontiers, Cochin China, and the Liaotung peninsula, which has figured so prominently in later Eastern politics, were conquered and reduced to the condition of feudatories, while Yunnan was incorporated into the empire.

But by no means the least momentous event of the period was the introduction of Buddhism. The histories affirm that one night the Emperor Mingti (58-76 A. D.) saw in a vision on his bed a golden image which bade him send to the western countries to search for Buddha, and for books and images to illustrate the doctrines of the holy man. In obedience to this command he, without loss of time, dispatched envoys to India, who after an absence of eleven years returned, bringing with them books, images, and drawings, together with an ordained priest of the new faith. This pioneer missionary was followed by others who, with extraordinary diligence, translated a number of the Sanskrit Sûtras into Chinese. But all these achievements failed to preserve the dynasty from that decadence which seems to be the natural fate of Chinese imperial houses. Toward the end of the second century of our era there occurred all those signs and symptoms of an impending political change to which the nation had now become accustomed. Three leaders arose. One in the state of Shuh, one in Wei, and one in Wu. Against these men Hsienti, the reigning sovereign from 190 to 221 A. D., was unable to maintain his position, and having retired with a certain pusillanimity into private life, left his empire to be contended for by the three chieftains. Then followed a period of bitter internecine strife, and the period is notorious in Chinese history for the more than usually savage wars which disturbed the peace and well-being of the people. Weary of the tumult under which they suffered, the nation welcomed the advent of a new dynasty, that of the Western Chin, in the year 265 A. D.

Buddhism, which had hitherto only received partial support, now gained powerful protectors in the sovereigns of the new line. It was during this period that the Chinese Buddhist Fa-hsien made an expedition to India to examine the sites sacred to the sage, and to possess himself of such canonical works as were still unknown to his countrymen. After an absence of fourteen years he returned by sea from Ceylon, bringing with him a library of books and notes which in subsequent years of leisure enabled him to write the interesting record of his travels which is known to European readers through the fascinating translations of Remusat and Beal. At the close of the Chin Dynasty in 419 the empire again suffered division, and for a hundred and sixty years six states fought for supremacy in the distracted provinces. A short dynasty, (about thirty years) followed which was notorious only for the reign of one sovereign, Yangti, who devoted himself with laudable energy to the construction of canals in the eastern and central portions of the empire where alone they were possible. On the ashes of this dynasty rose the house of T'ang, whose appearance on the imperial stage opened the period which is well described as the Augustan Age of Chinese literature. The keynote of the great emperors of this line was to restore in their fullness the ancient beliefs and traditions which had been consecrated by the approval of Confucius. In pursuance of this tendency many of them discouraged in every way in their power the foreign religion which had been introduced from India. Already monasteries had sprung up in various parts of the country, and it is possible that then, as now, these were occasionally hotbeds of treason and sedition. But however that may be, several decrees were issued commanding the monks to range themselves as Benedicts, and to rejoin the ranks of civil life, which in their mistaken zeal they had deserted for the cloister.

But the chief glory of the dynasty was the literature which sprang up under the fostering care of the rulers. Poets, essayists, and historians poured out from their studies volumes which charmed their contemporaries as much as they delight students and scholars of the present day. In every library in China will now be found "The Complete Poems of the T'ang Dynasty," while numberless volumes of the polite literature of the period still hold unrivaled sway in the opinion of the *Literati.* In the field of battle the nation was as successful as in the arena of literature. With skill and success the districts of Hamil, Turfan, and the Ouigour country were added to the empire, and thus brought Far Cathay within the cognizance of western Asia, and even of the confines of Europe. The See of Rome, eager to extend its influence and to gain converts to the faith, took advantage of the opportunity thus offered to dispatch an embassy to the Chinese court, but the Papal envoy found already assembled there envoys from Persia and Nepaul. Already the Nestorian Christians had sent missionaries to proclaim the truth, as they had received it, and though little is said on the subject in the histories, it is plain that considerable success attended their efforts. A striking testimony to this is found in a monument which stands at the present day in the city of Hsian Fu, on which is inscribed a record of this first attempt to introduce Christianity into China.

As time went on, however, the domestic affairs of the empire fell into that disorder which always accompanies the declining years of dynasties. Twenty-three sovereigns of the line of T'ang sat in succession on the throne, and the reigns of many of these were marked rather by feeble administration than by any other characteristic. One exception to this criticism was the sovereignty of the Empress Wu, who held the scepter from 684 to 710. Having set aside the rightful sovereign, she usurped the throne, and by her wisdom and energy secured a brief space of peace with honor for her distracted countrymen. This dynasty, which began by extending religious toleration to all beliefs, in course of time inaugurated that persecution of Christians which has been intermittently carried on ever since, and even laid heavy hands on followers of Mohammed and Buddha. It was during these restless days that Tu Fu and Li T'aipo wrote those poems on the beauties of nature and the pleasures of wine, which have made their names immortal —at least, within the frontiers of the Middle Kingdom. At length, in 907, the imperial line, with all its glories and all its disgraces, passed away, and was followed by a succession of short dynasties, which did little more than keep alive the idea of empire, until the rise of the Sung power in 960.

At the close of the T'ang Dynasty, a tribe appeared on the frontiers of China which was destined to exercise a vast influence on the fortunes of the country. The Tartars, who had constantly raided the northern provinces, now appeared in force, and so successfully waged war on the southern empire that they secured for themselves the China of that day from the River Yangtsze northward. These hardy warriors were known as K'itan, the word from which the medieval name of Cathay is derived, and which, under the form of K'itai, is still that by which China is known to the Russian people. The supremacy of these nomads was not, however, of very long duration. After a rule of less than two hundred years they yielded place to their congenitors, the Kin Tartars, the progenitors of the present ruling sovereigns, who in their turn divided with Sung the whole empire.

Chapter II

THE YUAN AND MING DYNASTIES. 1260-1644

BUT while constant war was being carried on between the Kin and Sung dynasties, yet another power was rising on the Mongolian steppes destined to crush both under its iron heel. In the valley of the Onon, in the neighborhood of the Karakorum hills, was fostered a Mongol chief, who in the near future was to be classed among the greatest rulers the world has ever seen. The parentage of Jenghiz Khan differed little from that of those about him, but from an early age Nature had marked him out as a leader of men. While yet young he was chosen as khan of his tribe, and led his followers in a succession of campaigns against the neighboring chieftains. Having humbled these rulers to the dust, and having swept their vanquished followers into his ranks, he braced himself up to more serious warfare.

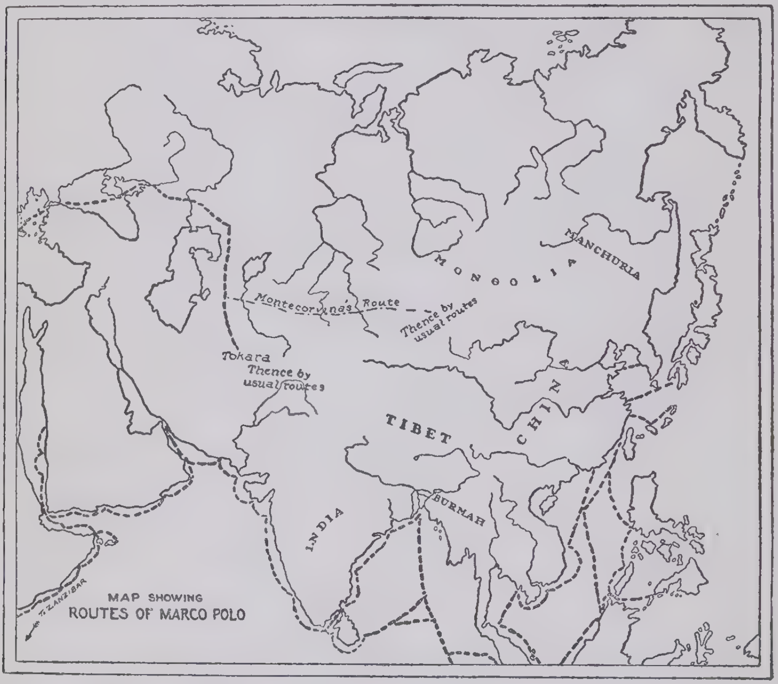
The kingdom of Hsia, which consisted of the modern provinces of Kansu and Shensi, though not a fertile territory was, by comparison with the cold and bleak steppes of Mongolia, a land flowing with milk and honey. Without much difficulty Jenghiz Khan's hardy warriors subdued this country under them, and aspiring to fresh conquests, invaded the territory ruled over by the Kin Dynasty in the year 1211. This campaign was partially successful, and at its conclusion Jenghiz, as was his wont, retired to his Ordu on the River Onon, to recruit his forces, and to collect his strength for a second onslaught. Two years later he again took the field, and, overrunning the modern province of Chihli, laid waste ninety of its fairest cities, including the Kin capital, which stood in the neighborhood of the modern Peking. Leaving an occupying force to preserve his newly acquired rights, Jenghiz turned his attention westward, and with marvelous speed and thoroughness gathered within his borders the districts of Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khoten. Even such vast conquests as these failed to satisfy the lust for empire which had taken possession of the Mongol chieftain. On one excuse or another, he led his troops of nomad horsemen against the kingdom of Khuarezm, and having swept over its richest provinces, advanced into Georgia and western Europe. With irresistible force, aided no doubt by the terror which, as the "curse of God," he inspired, he captured Moscow and Kiev, the Jerusalem of Russia, and did not draw rein until he had advanced as far as Cracow and Pesth. After having laid waste all these cities so that, as he boasted, he could ride over their sites without meeting an obstacle sufficient to make his "horse stumble," he returned to Mongolia, and there died in the year 1227. Meanwhile his generals had not been idle in China, but had advanced his conquests to the fertile region within the eastern bend of the Yellow River, thus securing a rich inheritance to his successor Oghotai.

It was during the reign of this monarch that the first Catholic missionaries carried the light of Christian civilization to the dark regions of Mongolia. "It is worthy of the grateful remembrance of all Christian people," says the missionary Friar Ricold, of Monte Croce, as quoted by Colonel Yule, "that just at the time when God had sent forth into the western parts of the world the Tartars to slay and to be slain, He also sent into the East His faithful servants Dominic and Francis to enlighten, instruct, and build up in the Faith." Little or nothing is known of these messengers of the gospel, but in the years 1245-1247 John de Plano Carpini presented himself before Mangu Khan, and has left us an account of his observations. Though he failed to reach China, he saw a number of its subjects at the Mongol court, and describes them as "heathen men," but "having a written character of their own. They seem," he says, "indeed to be kindly and polished folks. enough. They have no beard, and in character of countenance have a considerable resemblance to the Mongols, but are not so broad in the face. They have a peculiar language. Their betters as craftsmen in every art practiced by men are not to be found in the whole world. Their country is very rich in corn, in wine, in gold and silver, in silk, and in every kind of produce tending to the support of mankind."

Some few years later the Franciscan Friar Rubruquis followed in Carpini's footsteps, and as a result of shrewd observation supplements the very graphic account left us by Carpini. In great Cathay or China he recognizes the land of the Ceres with which we are made familiar by the writings of the Latin poets of the Augustan Age. "Those Cathayans," he adds, "are little fellows, speaking much through the nose, and as is general with all those Eastern people, their eyes are very narrow. They are first-rate artists of every kind, and their physicians have a thorough knowledge of the virtues of herbs, and an admirable skill in diagnosis by the pulse. The common money of Cathay consists of pieces of cotton paper about a palm in length and breadth, upon which lines are printed resembling the seals of Mangu Khan (the third in succession from Jenghiz Khan); they do their writing with a pencil such as painters paint with, and a single character of theirs comprehends several letters so as to form a whole word." These few lines describe with effective point and great accuracy the leading characteristics of the patient and laborious inhabitants of China.

But though these faithful emissaries of Pope Innocent saw much to interest them in the social manners and customs of the Cathayans, they could only carry back with them a depressing account of the condition of Nestorian Christianity at the capital of the great khan (Mangu). Rubruquis states that when he first attempted to explain the object of his mission to the khan, his address was considerably "marred by the interpreter becoming incoherent from frequent draughts of wine supplied him by Mangu, who himself became maudlin before the friar retired, from the same cause." The effect of the religious services was much interfered with also by the indulgence of this infirmity. On high days and festivals the sacred ceremonies ended in drunken orgies, and on one occasion the empress, who had a leaning for Nestorian Christianity, "was carried home from church in a state of intoxication, escorted by priests who reeled after her, shouting out their chants and hymns."

Meanwhile Mangu was still waging war against the sovereign of the Sung Dynasty, and the enterprise was yet incomplete when he died in 1259, leaving the still growing heritage of the Mongols to his son, the Great Kublai, a grandson of Jenghiz Khan. With indefatigable energy this sovereign took in hand the conquest of China, which had been so dear to the heart of the great founder of the race, and it was while the fate of this venture was still in the lap of the gods that the Venetian traveler, Marco Polo, presented himself at the court of the great khan. Already the father and uncle of Marco had made an adventurous journey in pursuit of commerce across Asia to the valley of the Onon, and it was on the occasion of their second visit in 1271 that they took the youthful Marco with them. "When the two brothers and Mark," writes this last named, "had arrived at that great city (the Mongol capital), they went to the Imperial Palace, and there they found the sovereign attended by a great company of barons. So they bent the knee before him, and paid their respects to him with all possible reverence, prostrating themselves on the ground. Then the lord bade them stand up, and treated them with great honor, showing great pleasure at their coming, and asked many questions as to their welfare and how they sped. They replied that they had in verity sped very well seeing that they found the Khan well and safe. They then presented the credentials and letters which they had received from the Pope, which pleased him right well; and after that they produced the oil from the sepulcher, and at that also he was very glad, for he set great store thereby. And next spying Mark, who was then a young gallant, he asked who was that in their company. 'Sire,' said his father, Messer Nicolo, ''tis my son and your liege man.' 'Welcome is he, too,' quoth the Emperor. . . . . There was great rejoicing at the Court


MAP SHOWING
ROUTES OF MARCO POLO

because of their arrival; and they met with attention and honor from everybody."

The pomp and splendor of the Oriental court struck the travelers with amazement. Never before had they dreamed of such imperial splendor. The annual feasts and national commemorations were celebrated with a magnificence that surpassed their wildest imaginations, while the evidences of civilization which they met on all sides led them to make comparisons as unfavorable to Europe as changed circumstances lead us now to make to the disadvantage of China. One fact which especially attracted their attention was the existence of banknotes at a time when as yet Europe was destined to wait four centuries for a like convenient currency. A Chinese banknote of about a century later is now exhibited in the King's Library of the British Museum, which is noticeable from the fact that the paper on which it is printed is almost black. The explanation of this color is given by Marco Polo: "The Emperor," he tells us, "makes them (his subjects) take the bark of a certain tree, in fact of the mulberry tree, the leaves of which are the food of the silkworm—these trees being so numerous that whole districts are full of them. What they take is a certain fine white bast or skin which lies between the wood of the tree and the thick outer bark, and this they make into something resembling sheets of paper, but black." The khan himself he describes as being of a good stature, neither tall nor short, and being very shapely in all his limbs. If this were so the Chinese artists who have left us portraits of the great man have signally maligned him. According to them he was stout almost to obesity, and far from possessing the shapely form described by the Venetian, whose evidence, however, we should be inclined to accept rather than the products of native studios.

Meanwhile Kublai was actively engaged in the campaign against the reigning sovereign of the Sung Dynasty, and it is even said that in this enterprise he received useful help at the outset from the young Marco. It is difficult, however, to reconcile this with the dates assigned to Marco's arrival and the opening of the campaign; but however that may be, Kublai's first advance was made across the Yellow River, and against the city of Hsiangyang, in the province of Hupeh. It is remarkable in the history of these wars to find how much stouter a resistance the Chinese offered to the invading Mongols than the inhabitants of western Asia and eastern Europe were able to present. It was only after a long siege that Hsiangyang fell into the hands of the Mongols, and it required more than one arduous campaign to subdue the cities of Hanyang, Hankow, Wuchang, Soochow, and, finally, Hangchow, the Sung capital. With the fall of the capital the Sung Dynasty practically came to an end, though with fitful efforts the followers of the ruling house attempted to stem the tide of invasion, and by 1276 the whole of China acknowledged the sway of Kublai. At this time the Mongol sovereign ruled over an empire which was one of the largest of which the world's history has knowledge, and which claimed as its subjects the countless hordes occupying the vast territories which stretch from the Black Sea to the shores of the China Ocean, and from northern Mongolia to the frontiers of Annam.

One of the most striking features of Kublai's campaigns was the ease and rapidity with which his forces were moved over vast stretches of territory. Whether the enemy to be assailed were the people of Persia or of Cochin China, his armies straightway marched against the foe, and with surprising speed gained striking distance. Those whose fortune it has been to travel through western China, and to cross the many mountain ranges over which the only roads are narrow pathways, fitted rather for goats than for human beings, will well understand how formidable must, for example, have been the undertaking of moving an army from Peking to the frontiers of Burma. To the Mongols, however, it was enough to know that the work had to be done, and without loss of time they overcame the difficulties of transport, and succeeded in placing an army in the field on the plains of Yungchang. To Kublai's followers, accustomed to the warfare of northern latitudes, the Burmese arms and equipments presented new and alarming characteristics. For the first time in their experiences they were called upon to face troops of elephants—animals which they could never have seen before. Nothing daunted, the general in command dismounted his men, who fired such a storm of arrows into the huge monsters that they turned and rushed through the Burmese ranks, causing disorder and panic among their masters. Taking advantage of the confusion thus caused, the Mongols charged home into the forces of the enemy, and gained a decisive victory. Alarmed at the swarming numbers and overmastering power of the invaders, the king submitted himself to Kublai, and was allowed to return to his capital on the condition that he and his successors should pay a regular tribute to the court of China. Up to the nineteenth century, when Great Britain acquired Burma, this tribute was regularly paid; and even after the English were in possession of Mandalay one or two tribute-bearing missions were allowed to carry homage to Peking.

But while in the Burmese and other land campaigns Kublai was uniformly successful, he was, in his naval warfare, eminently unfortunate. In 1266 he sent two envoys in the direction of Japan, who, however, returned without having ventured to cross the intervening sea from the coast of Korea. The object of this mission was doubtless to put an end to the Japanese piratical raids which had long been occasioning panic and disorder on the coasts of China and Korea; but, finally, having failed to arrive at a peaceful solution of the difficulty, Kublai dispatched a fleet against the Japanese which suffered a fate similar to that which overtook the Chinese ships at the Yalu during the late war. A number of the vessels were captured, a number were destroyed, and only a remnant returned to carry back the news of the disaster. Some years later Kublai fitted out another fleet carrying 100,000 warriors in the hope of avenging the late disgrace, but no better fortune attended this second venture, and it is said that almost the whole fleet perished. Other expeditions against the islands in the China seas proved equally unsuccessful, and Kublai was compelled to recognize the fact that while invincible on land, his hardy warriors were no match afloat for the seafaring populations of the islands. It is not in man to command success, and Kublai, the victor in so many hard-fought fields, could well afford to submit to these foreign rebuffs on a strange element. In matters of religion Kublai showed the same toleration which had been conspicuous in his predecessors; with equal favor, or perhaps one may say, indifference, he showed an impartially friendly disposition toward Christianity, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism. He listened to the teachings of Christian fathers with the same attention that he gave to Buddhist priests and Mohammedan mullahs; if ever he showed special favor to any one form of faith it may safely be assumed that it was with the object of hunting the trail of policy by the concession. Thus when wishing to secure supremacy over the wild and little known regions of Tibet, he affected a strong leaning toward Buddhism, and gained such an ascendency by so doing that on a vacancy occurring in the pontifical priesthood he was invited to appoint a Grand Lama to superintend the destinies of the country. Having thus secured the loyalty of the chief of the state he became virtually its ruler, and added a new but profitless province to his already unwieldy empire.

But his toleration extended beyond religions, and embraced foreigners of all nations and degrees; the favor with which he regarded young Marco Polo on his first arrival at the Mongol capital was consistently extended to him during the whole of his seventeen years' residence in China. Recognizing his zeal and ability, he appointed him to office, and gave him, among other employments, a roving commission to go through the provinces of Shansi, Shensi, Szech'uan, and Yunnan, and to report on the condition of the districts through which he passed. So well did the Venetian acquit himself on this and other occasions that he was finally appointed governor of the city of Yangchow. There he exercised rule for three years, and might have remained indefinitely had not a wish to return to his native land possessed him with overpowering desire. His father and uncle, who were still in the country, were also anxious to return to Venice, but to their repeated requests for leave of absence Kublai had invariably returned a negative, and it was by the merest chance that they ultimately succeeded in getting away from the country of their adoption. It happened that Arghun Khan of Persia, a great-nephew of Kublai, who had been left a widower, desired to wed, as his second venture, a lady of the Mongol tribe, of which his first wife had been a member. Kublai sanctioned the arrangement, and made choice of a young lady whom he considered to be a fit and proper person to fill the place of her deceased relative. So far matters went smoothly, but when the question came of her journey to Persia, which was to be made by sea, Kublai found it more difficult to provide a fitting escort than it had been to find the lady. The Mongol officials, unaccustomed to the sea, shrank from the undertaking, and as a last resort it was proposed and agreed to that Marco with his father and uncle should have charge of the would-be bride. In 1292 they started on their adventurous voyage, in the course of which they met with not a few perils. However, at length they reached Persia in safety, and Marco tells us that the adieus on the part of the lady were more sympathetic than probably her future husband would have cared to witness.

The lady, we are told, burst into tears, and bade her escort farewell with many lamentations. So long had been the voyage that it was not until 1295 that the governor of Yangchow, with his father and uncle, appeared once more on the Rialto.

It is beyond dispute that China enjoyed an unusual share of prosperity during the reign of Kublai. With the same wisdom that he showed in most concerns, he exhibited toward the people marked consideration and justice. He adopted their institutions and looked favorably on their prejudices and leanings; he was a patron of their national literature; and used every effort to secure justice in the administration of the laws. But he was a foreigner, and his dynasty had never taken that hold on the country which might make people forget that he was not a Chinaman. Two years after Marco Polo had left the great khan was gathered to his fathers, and was carried to his tomb without any expression of regret on the part of the people over whom he had reigned for five and thirty years. His grandson Timur succeeded him on the throne, but the ability which had enabled Kublai to raise the empire to the great height at which he had left it was wanting in his successor. Timur died in 1307, and after him followed in rapid succession seven sovereigns, of whom little can be said that is of good report, except possibly of the second, Jên Tsung, who was an ardent follower of Confucius, and who adopted the principle of distributing offices more equally between Mongols and Chinese than had hitherto been the case.

When Kublai Khan rose to supreme power, the Mongols, who had no writing of their own, were dependent on their more cultured neighbors for the means of corresponding on paper. An acquaintance with the cultured and literary people of China had taught the great conqueror the necessity of remedying this defect, and with the object of doing so, he appointed a scholar of the name of Bashpa to devise an alphabet which should give expression to the thoughts of native writers in a national script. Bashpa executed his task, and Kublai issued an edict ordering that for the future all official documents should be written in the characters so invented. No sooner, however, had the Mongols entered China than the new alphabet was discarded. As has been said, "China is a sea that salts all the waters which flow into it," and the Mongols having left their dreary steppes, and their equally dreary scraps of literature, became ardent admirers of the Chinese scholarship. Under the influence of this new life they forgot the results of Bashpa's ingenuity, and adopted the learning and writing of their conquered enemies. One branch of Chinese literature may almost be said to have been the creation of the Mongols; before their time puppet shows and dramatic performances had been among the popular amusements of the Chinese people. The patronage which was extended to these scenic efforts by the Mongols encouraged the production of more regular plays, and the profession of playwright became in consequence a popular one with such authors as had more taste for holding the mirror up to nature than for discussing the sterner thoughts of the philosophers. The dramas which were produced during the Mongol period have never been surpassed in China, and the "Plays of the Yuan Dynasty" are still regarded as standard works in this department of literature.

During the last reigns of the Yuan Dynasty the usual precursors of revolution became prominent. Rebellions and riots broke out on all sides, and during the reign of Shunti, the last of the Mongols, the disorders came to a head. The dynasty had never been popular, and when its sovereigns ceased to be powerful, the desire for the return to the throne of a Chinese line became intensified among the people. At the head of one of the risings in the south was one who was destined to wear the robes of sovereignty. Chu was essentially a man of the people, and his family having fallen on evil times, he was left on the death of his parents penniless and alone. To men in such a condition the cloister often offers a shelter from the storm. At all events this was Chu's anticipation when he shaved his head and took the vows of a Buddhist monk. But circumstances were too strong for the recluse, and the military spirit that was born in him having been awakened by a rebellion which broke out in the neighborhood of his monastery, he incontinently cast aside his cowl and took the sword. A commanding presence, a strong will, and considerable ability soon forced him to the head of the movement, and with such skillful tactics did he maneuver his men on the battlefield that he was uniformly successful in his engagements with the enemy. With scarcely a check he marched on Nanking, and having captured that most important city after a short siege, he, like the T'aip'ing Wang of a half-century ago, constituted it his capital. With this support he succeeded in driving the Mongols out of the province of Kiangsi.

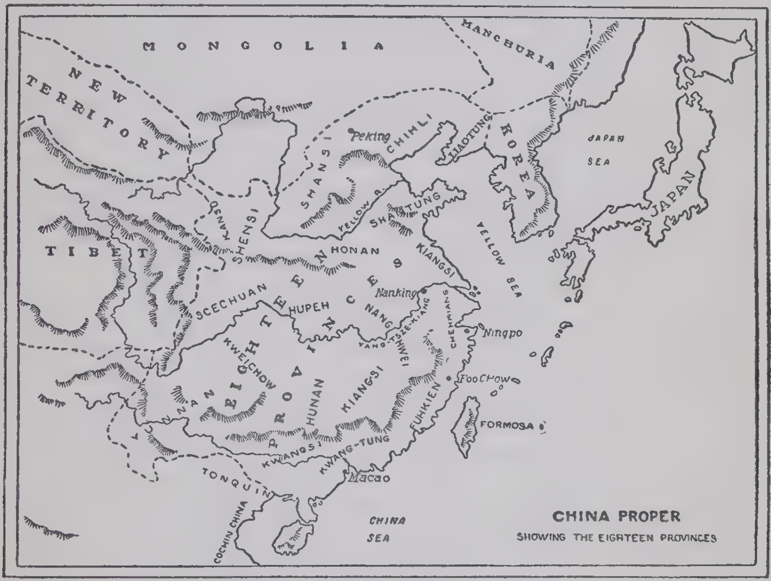
The central provinces were not the only parts of the empire where the fortunes of war declared against the Mongols at this time. In Korea, and in the western parts of the empire, the rebellious forces claimed to have gained victories, and it was in the midst of these clouds of disasters that Shunti was gathered to his fathers (1370). Meanwhile Chu dispatched three armies for the conquest of the still unsubdued districts. Two were commissioned to subjugate the southern provinces of Fuhkien, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi, while the third, consisting, it is said, of two hundred and fifty thousand men, was ordered to overrun the northern portion of the country. By this time the leaven of rebellion had spread far and wide, and Chu's troops found little difficulty in executing the commissions intrusted to them. With scarcely any opposition Peking fell before the rebel forces, and as a fitting climax to that victory, Chu, at the bidding of his vast hosts, was induced to accept the imperial purple. He was well aware, however, that the most difficult part of his task still lay before him. At the head of an enthusiastic army, and in face of a disheartened foe, it had been comparatively easy for him to overthrow the Mongol power. He now had to justify the choice of the people in placing him on the throne, and in this trying position he displayed as far-seeing a judgment as that which had already secured him temporary success. He recognized the importance of fostering that learning of which the nation was justly proud, and one of his first public acts were directed toward reëstablishing throughout the country the schools which had fallen into decay during the troublous time which had marked the decadence of the house of Jenghiz Khan.

During the halcyon period of the T'ang Dynasty in the eighth century an Imperial College, known as the Hanlin or "Forest of Pencils," had been established. Admittance to this palace of learning had always been regarded as the highest literary honor which could be obtained by the most erudite scholars. During the many dynastic changes which had taken place since its foundation its existence had been checkered by not a few periods of misfortune, and by none greater than that which had lately overtaken it. Hungwu—for such was the imperial title adopted by Chu—determined to rehabilitate the institution. He rebuilt its shattered walls, refurnished its empty rooms, and showed his personal interest in the work by actually visiting the building and superintending the arrangements for its revival. It was fit and proper that the main building should be at Peking, but Hungwu could never forget that Nanking had been the capital of his choice, and as evidence of this sentiment he built and endowed a sister institution at that city. Since the advent to power of the present Manchu Dynasty this last foundation has ceased to exist, though the college at Peking still maintains its high reputation. Like everything else, however, in the northern capital, with the exception perhaps of parts of the imperial palace and of the foreign legations, the Hanlin College is fast hastening to decay. Its halls are deserted and its archives and library are covered thick with dust. It may sound paradoxical to say that a building in such a deplorable condition can represent an institution to which all men look up. But so it is. The highest literary honor that it is in the power of his emperor to confer is admittance to the ranks of the chosen few who boast themselves as being Hanlin scholars, though it is probable that few of those who now bear that title have ever passed through the creaking gates of the Hanlin College.

Another great work undertaken by Hungwu was the codification of the laws of the empire. During the Mongol dynasty much laxity had been observed in the administration of justice. The Mongol rulers were men of action, and thought more of the weapons of their army than of the forms of the legal procedure. But an immense benefit was conferred on the nation at large by this peaceful achievement of Hungwu. History further tells us that, with the true instincts of a law-giver, he recognized that something more than forms, however excellent, was needed, and devoted much time and energy to promoting the practical administration of justice and equity in the local courts. There was unquestionably room for such an effort, but to cleanse so foul an Augean stable as the Chinese law courts was more than one man, however able and however well intentioned, could possibly accomplish, and, unfortunately for the nation, the officials plowed up his good seed as soon as it was sown. More beneficial legislation in this direction would, however, undoubtedly have been effected had it not been that the Mongols, taking heart of grace after their defeat, once more took the field against their conqueror. Even in the home provinces of Shansi and Shensi they gained such victories over the Ming troops as put a considerable strain on Hungwu's resources, while in the promontory of Liaotung and the provinces of Szech'uan and Yunnan they completely put the enemy to rout. To meet this emergency Hungwu dispatched one army against Chungk'ing, and another against Ch'engtu in Szech'uan, and having pacified those districts marched across the border into Yunnan; and ultimately recovered that province from the Mongol yoke. In the midst of these victories, at a ripe age and full of honors, Hungwu became a "guest on high" (1399), leaving a rich inheritance to his successor. It is noteworthy that recently the thoughts of a large section of the Chinese people have been led back to this period. It is by a comparison between the present state of the empire, and the condition of things which existed under the first sovereign of the Ming Dynasty, that the leaders of the Kolaohwei have been able to enlist so many recruits to their banners. Hung, the first syllable of the sovereign's name, has now been taken as the second title of this very revolutionary society. Time will show what is the extent of the disaffection which is unquestionably now brewing, and how far the existence of foreigners in the country will serve as a check to any serious disturbance of the political equilibrium. Already within modern times the government has once at least been saved from its own people by foreign intervention, and it is possible that a like support may again be required to bolster up the central authority in times of future trouble.

Some years before Hungwu's death, his eldest son having already succumbed to disease, he, by his last testament devised his empire and throne to his grandson, who afterward adopted the title of Chienwên. In Eastern countries where primogeniture is not the invariable rule, some uncertainty as to the succession generally follows an imperial demise. In this case each of the younger sons considered that he had a better claim to the throne than his nephew, and to avoid the outburst of any unseemly violence between the disputants Hungwu before his death sent the malcontents to their provincial posts, keeping his grandson about his person at court. The difficulty of the position was eventually accentuated by the obligation which Chienwên felt to be incumbent upon him of inviting his uncles to take part in the imperial obsequies. With the exception of one, the Prince of Yen, they all with one consent declined to be present. Nor did the acceptance of the invitation by this prince by any means imply a feeling of loyalty toward his nephew. On the contrary, on leaving the imperial presence he at once retired to Nanking to organize his forces of opposition. With as little loss of time as possible he took the field, and being a man of great energy, determination, and courage, he gained a series of victories over his kinsman, which were checkered only by some trifling defeats. At length, in 1402, his troops had so completely gained the upper hand that Chienwên determined to give up the struggle and to abdicate. So unusual a step led to the report that he had committed suicide, but possibly with a recollection of his grandfather's religious propensities he, instead, shaved his head and sought sanctuary in a monastery in Yunnan. For forty years he remained incognito in the cloister, but at the end of that time, perhaps weary of the monotony of his existence, he launched out into poetry, and published a volume describing his former trials and difficulties with such minute details that the authorship stood confessed. The fact of his being an emperor's son, or possibly the fear that he might instigate a rebellion, induced the ruling sovereign to order him to Peking, where he was kept a state prisoner within the precincts of the palace until death put an end to his troublous existence. Meanwhile Yen was urged by his followers to usurp the throne. Nothing loath he accepted the crown, and for two and twenty years reigned with vigor over the empire. During the Mongol period Peking had been the official capital, and Yunglo, as Yen had styled himself, determined so far to break the traditions belonging to his house as once again to transfer the seat of government from Nanking to Peking. Further, for his own peace, and for the satisfaction of his followers also, he considered it wise that he should be handed down to posterity as the direct heir of Hungwu, and he therefore issued an edict commanding Chienwên's reign should be obliterated from the annals, and that the four years during which he had held the imperial scepter should be added to the reign of Hungwu.

Under his able administration the country enjoyed comparative peace, and he had time to turn his attention from the "Eighteen Provinces" to the difficulties which were disturbing the political affairs of Tonquin. Compared with his predecessors' reigns his rule was in the happy position of having no history within the frontiers of the empire. Beyond the northern marches, however, war with the Tartars was chronic, and though his generals gained repeated victories over their restless adversaries, the system of warfare which these practiced made it impossible for the Chinese to consolidate their triumphs. It is always difficult to destroy a guerrilla force which has a boundless territory to which to retire. That he inflicted serious losses on them is well established; and it was when on one of his expeditions against these nomad marauders that his fatal illness overtook him in 1425. Yunglo was more than a mere soldier. He showed a wide and intelligent interest in the literature of his country, and caused to be executed one literary task which alone should make his name famous. He appointed a commission of the leading scholars of the time to compile an exhaustive encyclopedia on all subjects commemorated in Chinese literature. After bestowing the labor of many years on this gigantic compilation, in 1407 the editors presented their imperial master with a work consisting of no fewer than 22,877 books, besides the table of contents, which occupied sixty volumes.



CHINA PROPER
SHOWING THE EIGHTEEN PROVINCES

To Yunglo succeeded several sovereigns, the history of whose reigns presents a dismal picture of incompetence and anarchy. The historians, indeed, delight to tell us that envoys from Central Asia, India, and Malacca came to pay homage at the court of these Sons of Heaven. But these glimpses of honor are set off in a background of open disorder and successful rebellion. In 1428 Tonquin threw off the Chinese yoke, and the Tartars raided, almost unchecked, over the northern frontier of the empire. At one great battle fought against these Mongol horsemen a hundred thousand Chinese are said to have been killed, and the victory was further emphasized by the capture of the Emperor Chêngt'ung himself. It is evidence of the abject condition to which the empire was brought at this time, that though the Tartar chieftain offered to release his imperial prisoner on the payment of a hundred taels of gold, two hundred taels of silver, and two hundred pieces of silk, the Chinese were unable to provide the ransom. Eight years Chêngt'ung remained in captivity, and during this enforced absence from Peking his throne was vicariously occupied by his next brother. In 1465 Chêngt'ung paid the great debt of nature, and made his death humanely memorable by an order that the barbarous Mongol practice of immolating slaves at the tombs of sovereigns—a practice which had been adopted by the earlier Ming rulers—should not be followed in his case. A still more memorable record of his reign is found in the large geographical work on the empire, entitled "*Ta Ming yi t'ung chih,*" or "A Complete Geographical Record of the Empire under the great Ming Dynasty." The example thus set has fortunately been followed by the rulers of the present line of sovereigns, under whose auspices the "*Ta Ch'ing yi t'ung chih*" in five hundred books, which describes in minute detail the geographical and political condition of the country, has been issued from the press.

It was during the reign of Chêngt'ung's successor, Ch'ênghwa, that the canal from Peking to the Peiho was made. This was the only public work for which there was either time or inclination in the midst of the brigandage and seditious risings which disturbed the empire, more especially in the northern and western provinces, with such constant persistence that they may almost be said to have been endemic.

During the reign of Chêngtê, from 1506 to 1522, occurred an event which led up, though at a long interval, to the treaties which now govern the relations of China with the outer world. In 1511 the Portuguese, Raphael Perestralo, arrived off the southern coast of China, and six years later Don Fernao Peres D'Andrade presented himself at Canton in command of a small squadron. The object of these pioneers was the extension of commerce, and D'Andrade having been well received by the authorities at Canton, proceeded to Peking, where he remained some years, acting the part of an amateur ambassador. For some time his relations with the central authorities were amicable, but the outrageous action of his compatriots in other parts of the empire unhappily brought his mission to an abrupt and unfortunate close. By order of the emperor he was arrested and imprisoned, and after six years of confinement was summarily beheaded by order of the succeeding ruler, Chiaching. Such a reprisal was undoubtedly a high-handed measure, but the Portuguese traders on the coast, notably at Ningpo and Foochow, had rapidly filled up a large cup of iniquity. They had been guilty of every form of outrage, and at Ningpo had proceeded to such excesses that on the occasion of a difference with the people of a neighboring village they had fallen upon and massacred their opponents. When estimating the conduct of an Oriental state in such circumstances, it is only fair that the opposite side of the shield should be seen, and it cannot be denied that the history of the early Portuguese settlements in China is stained by every form of iniquity.

In the Chinese histories no mention is made of D'Andrade's residence in Peking, and the first Portuguese visit on the coast is put down to the year 1535. At this time in the neighborhood of Foochow a general massacre of the Portuguese took place in revenge for certain nefarious acts, and out of several hundred thirty only escaped to tell the tale to their countrymen in the neighborhood of Canton. After numerous negotiations and much filibustering, the Canton officials allowed the Portuguese to settle on the peninsula of Macao in exchange for an annual rental. To say that the lives of these men were precarious would certainly not be overstating the case. They were constantly engaged in conflicts with the forces of the Chinese Government, as well as with the pirates who ravaged the coasts, but, though they carried their lives in their hands, so lucrative was the trade in which they were engaged that as many as five or six hundred Portuguese were commonly to be found within the precincts of the new settlement.

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It need not be a matter of surprise that the action of these pioneers of commerce rendered the Chinese disinclined to receive within their frontiers any foreigner whom they could conveniently keep out, and when the missionary Xavier, burning with a desire to carry a knowledge of Christianity to the people, asked for leave to be allowed to deliver this message of good will to all men, he was refused permission to land. Unwilling to give up the enterprise, he took up his residence on the island of Sanshan, within sight of the mainland, and there died in 1552 without having accomplished the yearning desire of his heart. The same inhospitality was offered to Michel Roger, the first of the Jesuit missionaries who attempted to gain a footing in the Middle Kingdom. The great Ricci, who arrived at Macao in 1582, was more successful. He was a man with wide sympathies, great learning, and much Christian charity. He began his work in China by studying the language, together with the scientific and religious beliefs of the people, and he thought that he saw in the native ideas on the subject of the Supreme Being and the whole duty of man, a likeness, though deformed by superstition, but still a likeness, to the truths set forth in the gospel. He seized on all those passages in the Confucian literature which agree with the utterances of the inspired writers, and following the example of Saint Paul at Athens, he told his hearers that the God whom they ignorantly worshiped was the God whom he was sent to preach to them. The open-mindedness which thus characterized his sentiments gained for him consideration and respect among all classes alike, from the ignorant coolies to the educated mandarins. With such a reputation he was received with favor at Peking—a favor which was not diminished by his very practical knowledge of mechanics, which enabled him even to set to rights the emperor's clocks and watches which, under the unwonted treatment to which they were subjected by the palace officials, had gone hopelessly wrong. Intent on interesting and at the same time instructing the mandarins, he utilized his knowledge of the language to translate the first six books of Euclid into Chinese. At a later period he published in Chinese a geometrical treatise on the theory of astronomical measurement; and not to leave the religious feelings of the people untouched, he brought out a work on the character and attributes of God. The scholarly style of these works commended them even to the punctilious taste of the *Literati,* and their author enjoyed during his residence in Peking the respect and friendship of the court and of the highest officials of the empire. In 1610 Ricci died, deeply regretted by all with whom he had been brought into contact.

The reign of Chiaching (1522-1567), which had been disturbed from its beginning by domestic outbreaks, was destined before its close to be imperiled by the same enemy which has of late humbled Chinese pride to the dust. It will be remembered that Kublai Khan made several expeditions against Japan, and though uniformly unsuccessful, these onslaughts none the less left a rankling feeling of ill-will in the minds of the Japanese. As the Mongol power declined the Japanese sought revenge for the injuries inflicted on them, by piratical raids on the coast. Boulger, in his "History of China," quotes a passage from a Chinese historian, who describes the Japanese of this period as being "intrepid, inured to fatigue, despising life, and knowing well how to face death; although inferior in number, a hundred of them would blush to flee before a thousand foreigners, and, if they did, they would not dare to return to their country. Sentiments such as these, which are instilled into them from their earliest childhood, render them terrible in battle." This description is as true to-day as it was then, and their prowess was exhibited as conspicuously off the coasts of Fuhkien and Chehkiang in the sixteenth century as at the battles of Pingyang and Yalu.

These lawless attacks on the Chinese coast were diversified with intervals of quiet, during which Japanese merchants reaped a rich harvest from the Chinese traders. But in 1552 a more serious campaign was undertaken, and a landing having been effected on the coast of Chehkiang, the invaders established themselves in a fortified post, and for a time defended their position against all comers. Some years later they even advanced and laid siege to Nanking, and though this attempt at conquest failed, the repeated onslaughts of the invaders paralyzed the imperial power, and kept the eastern provinces in a chronic state of disorder. In every naval engagement the Japanese were successful, and on land, though vastly outnumbered, they were never hopelessly defeated.

From time immemorial the pursuit of the philosopher's stone and of the elixir of life has been a favorite occupation with Chinese alchemists, and though refuted over and over again by the cold hand of death, it has never lost a certain fascination for the ignorant seekers after the unknown. It is strange to find that Chiaching, whose occupation of the throne had been one long troublous struggle, should have desired to perpetuate an existence which can have afforded him so very little pleasure. But so it was, and with ceaseless diligence he sought to snatch from the professors of Taoism the secret which was to make him immortal. As the approach of death proved indisputably the folly of his ways, he owned his error, and on his death-bed wrote a confession in these words: "Forty-five years have I occupied the throne, and there have been few reigns as long. My duty was to revere heaven, and to take care of my people; yet, actuated by the desire to find some solace for the evils from which I have continually suffered, I allowed myself to be deceived by impostors, who promised me the secret of immortality. This delusion has led me to set a bad example to both my magnates and my people. I desire to repair the evil by this edict, which is to be published throughout the empire after my death." In 1566 he passed into the land of shades, and his son Lungch'ing reigned in his stead.

The only event of importance which occurred in this reign was the submission of the turbulent Mongol leader Yenta, who had long defied the Chinese power. Yenta was now an old man, and wishing to end his days in peace he entered into negotiation with Lungch'ing, who, after the manner of Eastern sovereigns when dealing with submissive rebels, granted him the title of prince, and so set at rest a feud which had been of time-honored existence. But though Lungch'ing's reign had ended in peace and quiet, the general trend of the nation's history was downward, and it was unfortunate that at this time, when a strong hand was needed at the helm, a child should have succeeded to the throne. As is usual in such cases the young emperor's mother was proclaimed regent, and though for a time the legacy of peace which had descended to the empire remained intact, it was not long before disturbances again broke out. In Szech'uan and on the northwest frontier rebellions of considerable dimensions afflicted the empire. The important town of Ninghsia fell into the hands of the Tartars, led by the chieftain Popai, who added ingratitude to the crime of rebellion by leading his forces against the Chinese army in which he had at one time held high rank. Fortunately the imperialists were able to recover the city, and at the same time to crush the rebellion.

But while thus successful in the northwest, the same foe appeared on the eastern coast who had lately proved to be a formidable antagonist to the Chinese. Many years of peace and of successful raiding on the Chinese mainland had introduced an era of prosperity into Japan, and the people having waxed fat began to kick. They had long been associated with Korean politics and rivalries, and seizing on their opportunity in 1592, when Korea, as has not been uncommonly the case in her history, was distracted by internal feuds, they landed a force at the port of Fusan under the command of the celebrated general and subsequent Shogun, Hideyoshi. Without meeting with much opposition Hideyoshi advanced across the peninsula and made himself master of the capital, Seoul. As the Chinese, even up to our own times, have acted as the suzerain power in Korea, in this emergency the king, as in duty and interest bound, appealed to the Chinese emperor for assistance. The appeal was at once acknowledged, and a large Chinese force marched into Korea by way of the Yalu district. In anticipation of this movement the Japanese advanced northward to meet the attack, and, as in 1894, took up their position in Pingyang, where they were received without opposition by the inhabitants. The Chinese attack was delivered in force, but Hideyoshi commanded and disposed his men so ably that they had little difficulty in beating off their assailants.

The efforts which had been made for the campaign by both nations had, however, so far weakened their resources that neither was much inclined to continue the struggle at once. The Chinese, therefore, waited for reinforcements, and the Japanese slowly retired on their base at Fusan. Desultory engagements ensued, and the Chinese gained one decided victory near Pingyang, where they succeeded in burning a dèpot of warlike stores on which Hideyoshi had depended for the army. Negotiations for peace followed, and it is noticeable that the Chinese adopted precisely the same tactics as those which they practiced in 1895. They sent ambassadors of inferior rank to represent the emperor, and by this course so outraged the feelings of Hideyoshi, who in the meantime had become Shogun, that he prepared a fresh expedition for the renewed conquest of the country. Before, however, anything could be effected, the news reached Fusan of his death. This catastrophe put an end to the war, and peace was once more restored between the two countries. Of the spoils carried off by the Chinese we hear nothing, but the Japanese returned to their islands laden with trophies, among which were the ears of ten thousand Koreans who had been butchered in the frays.

It was during this reign that the Spaniards reached the Philippine Islands, where they found a congenial climate and a fertile soil. They, however, were not the only people who recognized these advantages. They had no sooner settled themselves on the islands than Chinese emigrants followed their example, and in the quiet persistent way common to the race, poured into the country. At first the Spaniards were well pleased to have such willing and handy craftsmen, but as the number of them increased by leaps and bounds they soon began to fear for their dominion. Threats and persuasions were freely used to induce the intruders to return to their native land, and these proving unavailing, an order was given for the massacre of the strangers. Twenty thousand Chinamen are said to have been slaughtered at this time, and had these been subjects of any other state than China a war would have been inevitable. But until recent years, when international law has been made a subject of study at Peking, the Chinese Government has troubled itself very little, if at all, about the welfare of its subjects in foreign lands. In this case, however, a more immediately direct reason caused the Emperor Wanli to overlook the outrage. Disturbances had broken out within the empire which, to hold in check, required the services of every available man at his command. To subdue these completely was plainly beyond his power, and to the day of his death, in 1620, wars and rumors of wars were endemic in the country.

Meanwhile, under the skillful guidance of Ricci, Christianity had made considerable progress, even amid the disorders which had disturbed the reign of Wanli. Hsü, one of the *Literati,* and a man of high scholarly attainments and standing, having been converted by Ricci's influence, threw himself heart and soul into the missionary work. It was mainly due to the help of this man that Ricci was able to publish the scholarly treatises which have made his name immortal in connection with Chinese missions, and Hsü's granddaughter, baptized under the name of Candida, ably seconded his influence with money and energy. Thirty churches are said to have been built by her means, besides ninety buildings for the use of the missionaries. Unfortunately for the peace of the empire, Wanli left no son by his empress to succeed him, and at his death he was compelled, therefore, to nominate as his heir the eldest son of one of his concubines. A younger brother of this fortunate youth, being a favorite with his father, had been led to expect that in default of a son by the empress he would have been chosen as successor to the purple. In his anger at what he considered to be his supersession, he raised the standard of revolt, and embittered the last few months of his father's life by creating a conflict within his own household. Three emperors in succession to Wanli completed the list of Ming rulers, and in 1644 the first sovereign of the present Ta Ch'ing Dynasty ascended the throne.

Though it cannot be said that science and art flourished under the Ming rulers, yet the artistic taste at least of the people was not entirely neglected. Numerous artists painted landscapes, flowers, and birds with all the skill that had guided the pencils of the artists of the T'ang and Sung Dynasties, and to them the Japanese owe and acknowledge a deep debt of gratitude for the examples which they set to the contemporary painters of Miako and Osaka. The works of no artists are more admired in Japan than those of Sesshiu and Kano, both of whom drew their inspirations direct from China during this period. The landscapes of Ma Yuan and the flowers and birds of Ting Yüch'uan are artistic creations which must at all times and in all places command admiration, and these are but two of a host of painters who delighted and still delight all connoisseurs of art. The wood-engraving of this period is famous for beauty of design and skillful treatment, and is eagerly sought after for the adornment of houses by those to whom the god of wealth has been propitious.

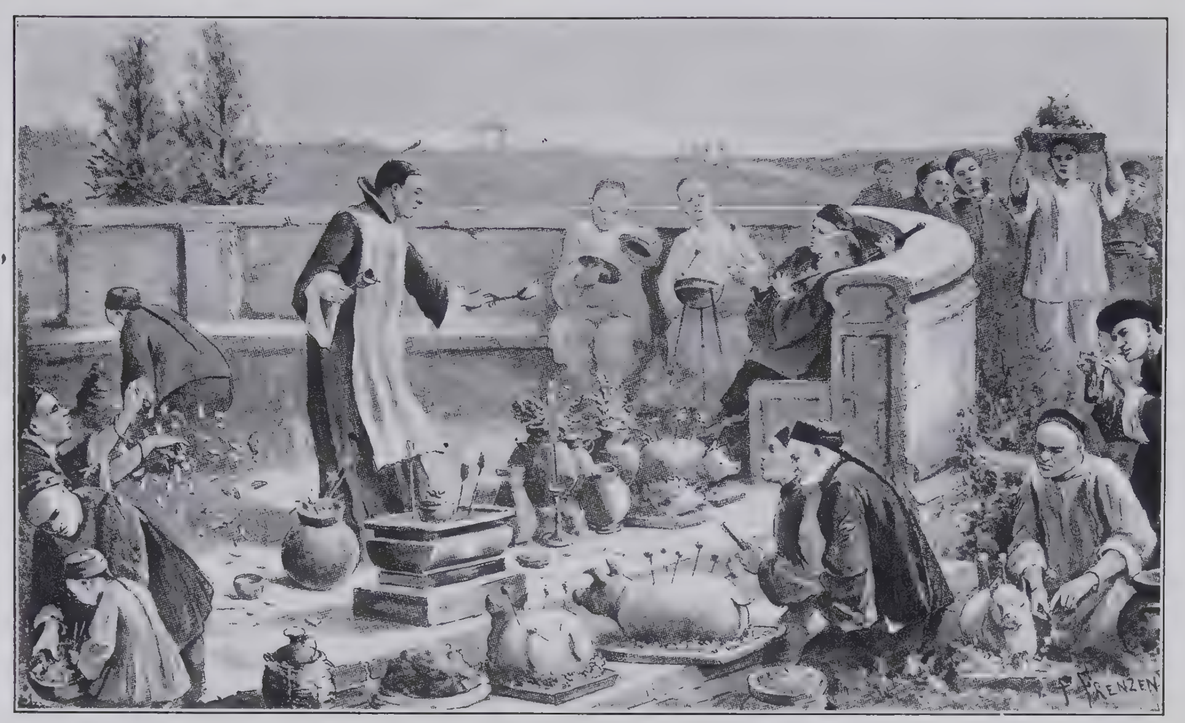
In several important points scientific teaching improved considerably during the same period owing to the arrival of Western missionaries in the country. Ricci, as we have seen, instructed the *Literati* in geometrical and astronomical knowledge, which happily was not allowed to perish with him. In 1628 John Adam Schall arrived in China, and proceeded to Peking, where, under imperial patronage, he was appointed astronomer-royal, and was deputed to rearrange the imperial calendar. Under the last three emperors of the Ming Dynasty, and the first two of the present dynasty, Schall was treated with all the respect and honor to which he was entitled. But at the beginning of the reign of K'anghsi he fell on evil days. Jealousy was aroused against him, and on a charge of law-breaking brought by his enemies, he was thrown into prison and loaded with chains. From this evil strait he was liberated by death in about 1666. During the years of his ascendency he had worked with single-hearted zeal in the cause of the faith, and it is said that between the years 1660 and 1664 a hundred thousand converts were claimed by the church through the instrumentality of Schall and his coworkers. At one time the Emperor K'anghsi showed a disposition which tended toward conversion. But this wished-for consummation was never achieved, though the emperor's mother, wife, and son all received baptism, which rite was also sought and received by fifty ladies of the court.

As men of science the missionaries received every consideration from the emperor, and though they were disposed at times to consider that his attitude toward Christianity was satisfactory, it is plain that in his heart of hearts he viewed the subject with all the perfect indifference of a faithful follower of Confucius.

"Why do you so much trouble yourselves," he asked on one occasion of a spiritual adviser, "about a world which you have never yet entered?" and adopting the, to him, canonical view, he expressed his opinion that it would be much wiser if they thought less of the world to come and more of the present life. It is possible that when he said this he may have had in his mind the dying word of Ferdinand de Capillas, who suffered martyrdom in 1648. "I have had no home but the world," said this priest, as he faced his last earthly judge, "no bed but the ground, no food but what Providence sent me from day to day, and no other object than to do and suffer for the glory of Jesus Christ, and for the eternal happiness of those who believe in His Name."

It is possible also that the dissensions which broke out among the Roman Catholic missionaries in China during the last half of the seventeenth century may have had something to do with the cynical attitude adopted by K'anghsi toward them. In 1651 a party of Dominicans arrived in China to supplement the work being done by the Jesuits. These latest arrivals had no sooner landed than they became shocked at the latitude allowed by the Jesuits in matters of religious forms.

The Jesuits, in their desire to gain intellectual dominion over the people, were said to have granted admission into their services of practices which savored somewhat of the superstitious rites of the natives. The ancient and respectable worship of ancestors received their acquiescence on the plea that it was rather a civil than a religious service. They had adopted also the abstract term T'ien, or Heaven, for the Christian God, and made no objection to the exhibition in their churches of scrolls bearing the inscription, "Worship Heaven." The Dominicans, fresh from Rome, and unaccustomed to the politic tact which by long practice had become part of the Jesuit character, at once set their faces against these practices. The Jesuits, firm in the inherited wisdom of Ricci,



THE ANCIENT AND RESPECTABLE WORSHIP OF ANCESTORS

Painting by F. Frenzeny

refused to listen to what they considered to be the carping criticism of their opponents, and declined to make any alterations in their practices. The Dominicans appealed to Rome, and after much doubt and controversy, a Papal decree was issued proclaiming the worship of ancestors to be a heathenish practice, and one which was not to be for a moment sanctioned by the Holy Mother Church.

Chapter III

THE RISE OF THE MANCHUS. 1644-1722

WHILE yet the influence of Ricci was supreme at Peking, and while yet Wanli sat on the throne, the Manchu power was rising in the northeast, which was destined ultimately to bring all China under its yoke. After the defeat of the Kin Tartars by the Mongols in the thirteenth century, scattered bands had made their way back to their original haunts in the neighborhood of Moukden. Many of these men had added military skill to their warlike natures and thus formed a formidable though small body of warriors in the midst of the various tribes of Manchus who inhabited the surrounding territories. Among these wandering and superstitious people a miracle was proclaimed. While a Manchu maiden was seated on the shores of the lake whose waters lap the sides of the Long White Mountain, a magpie dropped a red fruit into her lap. The maiden ate the fruit and straightway conceived a son, whose name was called Aisin Gioro, the Golden. Such a birth entitled the infant to the highest honors, and with one consent he was elected to the chieftainship of the clan. To this chieftain succeeded in course of time his son, whose grandson, Nurhachu, born in 1559, was destined to justify his miraculous origin by vanquishing for himself and his successors the ancient Empire of China.

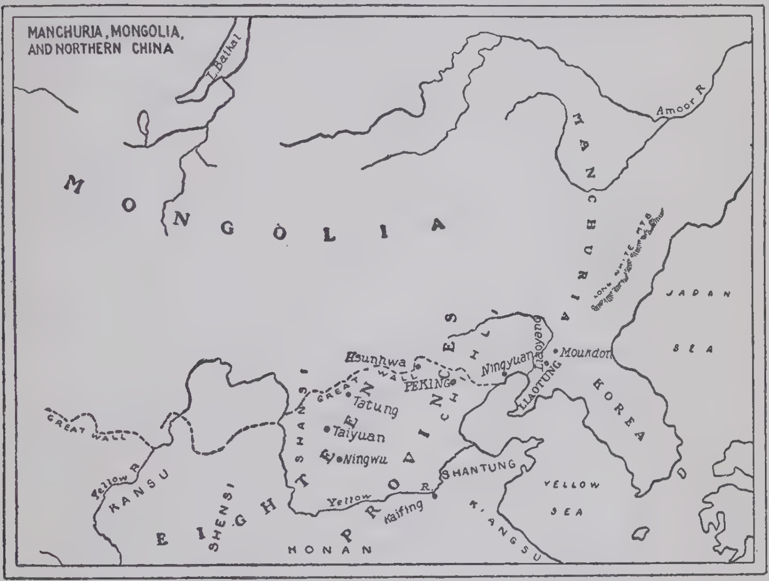
As Nurhachu reached manhood he took an active part in the affairs of his tribe, and by virtue of his descent was, in the natural order of things, proclaimed chieftain of it. His appearance is said to have indicated the future that lay before him. Native writers love to dwell on his dragon face and phœnix eyes, his enormous chest, his large ears, and his deep-toned voice. These features, by common belief, belong to leaders of men, and if they graced the frame of Nurhachu they were certainly truer omens than are most signs and forecasts. At this time the Manchus were divided up into numberless small clans which were scattered in the wide district which divides the great wall from the Amur, and the first task to which Nurhachu devoted himself was to weld these scattered tribes into one confederacy. Good fortune attended his efforts, and the extent of his success may be estimated by the jealousy with which he was viewed by rival chieftains. At first the Chinese, who considered themselves the lords paramount over the Manchurian tribes, regarded the movement as being too insignificant to require their attention. Besides, at this time local riots and somewhat serious rebellions were disturbing the peace of several of the provinces of the empire. At length Wanli, who still sat on the throne at Peking, was roused to action by such complaints as the defeated are always ready to bring against a successful foe, and he took up the cause of a certain Nikan, who was of all others Nurhachu's chief opponent. Like other people, the Chinese often make the mistake of despising their enemies, and in the campaign which followed they suffered the penalty of their misguided folly. In 1591 Nurhachu had so far advanced his cause as to be able to annex the Yalu district. Such an obvious proof of his success was gall and wormwood to those neighboring chieftains who had held aloof from his confederacy, and seven of these discontented rulers banded themselves together to rob him of the legitimate rewards of his wisdom and foresight. At the head of thirty thousand men they marched out to meet the four thousand who fought under his banners. But Nurhachu, who had all the military ability of a Napoleon, defeated the allies in detail and slew four thousand of their chosen warriors. This success tempted him to further ventures, and as a preliminary step he opened his plan of campaign by an assault on the Liaotung peninsula. This was a direct attack on the Empire of China, and to justify so extreme a measure he drew up a statement of the seven grievances which he brought against his powerful neighbor, the first of which described in general terms the grounds of his several indictments. "Though my ancestors," he wrote, "never took a straw from, nor injured an inch of earth within, the Chinese boundary, the Chinese were unceasingly quarreling with them, and without just reason abetted my neighbors to the great injury of my ancestors."

The other six complaints described in detail the specific acts of which he complained. In the following year, 1618, he opened the campaign by crossing the Chinese frontier and capturing the cities of Fushun and Chingho.

The Chinese were now fully alarmed; but as has so often happened in the history of the empire, they had so overlooked the beginning of the evil that by the time they took the field they found themselves face to face with a large and well-equipped army, instead of the roving bands of banditti which had represented the original force of the movement. The saying that Providence is on the side of large battalions is one of those aphorisms which does not apply to Chinese battlefields. We have lately seen how, though numerically inferior, the Japanese defeated, put to flight, and destroyed the huge masses of troops which the Chinese were able to bring against them in Korea and in those districts over which Nurhachu maneuvered. In this earlier instance 100,000 Chinese troops marched against the 60,000 of the Niuchi chieftain, and if in executing his tactics the general commanding had desired to place himself and his men in the hollow of his adversary's hand, he could not have acted better than he did. With fatal consequences he divided his army into three forces, and thus gave Nurhachu the opportunity which he desired. With unerring instinct he recognized his opponent's mistake, and by a series of rapid movements he fought the three armies in detail, and practically annihilated them. It is said that in these engagements 310 general officers and 45,000 soldiers were slain. The baggage of the vanquished also fell into the hands of the Manchus, who thus became possessed of welcome stores with which to replenish and supplement the very defective supplies of their men.

It so happened that just when the news of the first reverses reached Peking the Portuguese envoy, Gonsalvo de Texeira, arrived at the capital on a mission connected with the settlement at Macao. Finding the government in dire straits, the envoy, on the principle of *Do ut des,* offered to supply a Portuguese contingent to help the imperial forces against the invader. Chinese pride has never been able to resist the offer of help in times of emergency. The mandarins may profess to despise the foreign "Barbarians" and all their works, but whether against the invading Manchus or the rebellious T'aip'ings they have always shown a readiness to avail themselves of any assistance which foreigners have chosen to offer. In this case they instantly accepted the envoy's proposal, and a corps of two hundred Portuguese arquebusiers, with an equal number of drilled and equipped natives, were enrolled for the service. With a certain amount of parade this small force traveled from Macao to Peking. But by the time they reached the capital, however, the emperor's alarm had subsided, and his zeal having consequently diminished, the Portuguese commander was politely requested to leave his guns, and to march his men back to Macào. It is on record that the guns so borrowed eventually did good service against the enemy.

But though effective, these weapons failed to check the march of the Manchus, who, after a difficult siege, captured the city of Moukden, and marched to the attack of Liaoyang. Here a vigorous defense was offered, and the city yielded only when the entire garrison had been put to the sword. After the capture of this city the native historians mention incidentally that the townspeople acknowledged allegiance to their new masters by shaving their heads. This is the first reference to be met with of the custom of shaving the head and wearing the pigtail, which is now the universal custom in China. Such a subject is generally beneath the notice of Chinese writers of history, who never trouble themselves to chronicle anything but the events occurring in court and camp during the period of which they write. Their silence on this point leaves the origin of the practice obscure, and whether it was a Manchu custom or one which was only then adopted as a sign of conquest, we have no means of ascertaining.



Meanwhile disturbances of a serious nature broke out in the province of Szech'uan, and in the existing distracted state of the country the emperor's forces would have had great difficulty in reëstablishing order in this outlying district had not a native heroine stepped into the breach. Tsinliang, the female chieftain of one of the aboriginal tribes in the province, like another Joan of Arc, raised a large force on the outbreak of hostilities, to supplement the small army which the emperor was able to put into the field. Success attended Tsinliang's efforts and the province was recovered for the imperialists. But this rising was only one symptom of the evil which was germinating in the body politic. In Yunnan and Kweichow leaders arose who led the unruly and disaffected after them, and at the same time an equally serious outbreak occurred in the northeastern province of Shantung, where, before the prowess and skill of a chief named Shu, a number of cities yielded themselves to his arms. Shu, however, with all his ability, had not the makings of a permanent leader of men, and at his first reverse his followers deserted him.

But the cloud which was really charged with danger to the dynasty lay over the northeastern portion of the empire, where Nurhachu was still threatening the frontier. In his various raids and expeditions he was, with one exception, uniformly successful; but it chanced that at the city of Ningyuan, to the north of the Great Wall, there was stationed a general whose eminent ability and cool courage enabled him for a time, at least, to turn back the tide of war. Against this fortress Nurhachu made two vigorous attacks, and on both occasions was defeated with heavy loss. Had the defenders of the walls been dependent on native arms alone the result might possibly have been different. But the guns which the Portuguese had brought from Macao, and which were supplemented by others cast under the superintendence of the Jesuits at Peking, stood on the battlements, and against these destructive weapons the Manchus failed even to hold their own. Nurhachu was now an elderly man, and this second failure was more than his declining energies could enable him to withstand. With a sense of his impending doom upon him, he withdrew his troops to Moukden, where in 1626 death brought to an end a great and memorable career. The mantle of the deceased warrior fell on his fourth son, T'ientsung. At first this new sovereign showed some inclination to come to terms with China; but if his desire was genuine he, to say the least, made his advances in a most unfortunate fashion:

"There is only one sun in the heavens and only one emperor beneath the sky," is the Chinese saying, and so far as the extreme east of Asia is concerned there is some justification for the boast. When, therefore, T'ientsung addressed the emperor on equal terms, the imperial advisers were taken aback at his audacity. Nor was their irritation diminished when news reached the capital that the Manchus had invaded Korea, and had crushed it beneath their heels. Negotiations for peace, therefore, did not prosper, and T'ientsung determined, in default of successful negotiations, to take up arms against his foes. But the city of Ningyuan still stood between him and his prey, and his forces fared no better before its walls than had his father's legions. While the Manchus were thus being held at arms' length by this faithful city, the Chinese emperor, T'iench'i, became a guest on high (1627), and was succeeded by his younger brother, T'sungchêng. The renowned skill and valor of the defender of Ningyuan were, as the Manchus were well aware, rare qualities in Chinese generals, and T'ientsung knew with equal certainty that if he could once pass this invincible fortress he might achieve easy victories in the fertile plains of northern China. It is a common axiom of war that it is unsafe to advance into an enemy's country while leaving a strong unconquered fortress in the rear of the invading force. There are, however, exceptions to this dictum, and T'ientsung rightly considered that this was one. Acting on his instinctive perception, he proposed to his generals that he should mask Ningyuan and march at once on Peking. The idea was so bold that it met with opposition, which, however, finally yielded to argument, and the order of march was given. Assisted by his Mongolian allies T'ientsung led his troops southward through the Ta-an and other passes. By these routes the Manchu army poured into the plains, leaving a small force to represent the main body before Ningyuan. Chunghwan, the defender of Ningyuan, was not long deceived by this maneuver. He felt that he was out of touch with his adversary, and his suspicions were confirmed by his scouts, who brought him news of the adventurous advance of the enemy. Without a moment's hesitation he determined on the course to be pursued. He knew the capital was insufficiently garrisoned, and he resolved at once to march to its relief. Then began a race between the two armies, and though the Manchus had some days' start the delay occasioned by the necessary investment of cities by the way enabled Chunghwan to reach Peking first. The presence of this very formidable opponent convinced T'ientsung that his chances of taking the city by fair means were very considerably diminished, and he therefore entered into a plot to bring about the downfall of the great Chinese general. The scheme he adopted was as mean as it was successful. He induced some of his officers to hold a conversation within earshot of two of the palace eunuchs whom he had taken prisoners. The burden of their conversation was that Chunghwan had turned traitor, and had agreed to open the gates of the city to the Manchus. So soon as the subtle poison had entered the ears of the eunuchs the prison doors were left unguarded, and the captives were allowed to escape to tell their imperial master of the supposed treachery of the man in whom he trusted. Fully believing the truth of the story, the emperor summoned Chunghwan to his presence, when, without giving him any opportunity of defending himself against the slander, he condemned him to prison and to the execution ground. But even without the strength which Chunghwan's presence had added to the garrison T'ientsung felt unable to carry the city, and being unwilling to continue engaging in the constant encounters which merely tended to harass his troops, he raised the siege and retired northward. The Chinese, who always prefer following a retreating, rather than facing an advancing enemy, hung on his line of march and recaptured several cities which had previously yielded to the Manchu attack.

In this direction the imperial prospects had improved, but the advantage was only momentary. The emperor had scarcely ceased to congratulate himself on the retreat of the Manchus when news was brought him of the outbreak of a more than usually formidable rebellion in the province of Shensi. This revolt was headed by the two powerful rebel leaders, Chang and Li, who, at first, according to the historians, fared badly at the hands of the army sent against them. But Chinese reports from battlefields are not always to be trusted. On one occasion, however, it is certain that the imperialists gained a victory. But this advantage they, with a folly which would be inconceivable except on the ground of treachery, turned to their own detriment. Having driven the rebel force commanded by Li into the mountains they demanded an unconditional surrender. To this they were plainly entitled, for so impossible did escape appear to be that Li at once agreed to lay down his arms, though with a certain effrontery he added the condition that he and his men should be allowed to go their way in safety. To these extravagant terms the Chinese general agreed, and the army had the mortification of seeing thirty-six thousand rebels, who had been completely at their mercy, march off scot free.

The retreat of T'ientsung into Manchuria was by no means indicative of an intention to give up his great enterprise; rather, it was with the idea of preparing for another spring at the prize which was destined to fall into his country's hands. It was at this crisis that the Manchus, for the first time, provided themselves with artillery, having learned by experience that the god of battles was in the habit of lending his countenance to the destructive guns of the foreigners. As a preliminary plan of campaign they overran the districts in Mongolia bordering on the Great Wall, and then turned their attention to the strongly fortified city of Tungchow, which, after resisting their attack for some time, fell into their hands, together with the fortified position of Sungshan. But in T'ientsung's opinion these advantages availed him little so long as Ningyuan, which was now commanded by the celebrated general Wu Sankwei, held out against him. With this fortress in his rear he dared not advance in force against Peking, and pending its capture he was obliged to content himself with raiding expeditions into some of the northern provinces of the empire. But the fates were adverse to him, and in their wisdom had decreed that, though in sight of the promised land, the possession of the goodly heritage should be left to other hands than his. At the early age of fifty-two death overtook him at Moukden, in 1643, not, however, before he had assumed, for the first time among Manchu rulers, the title of Emperor of China (1635), and had founded the Ta Ch'ing Dynasty, which still reigns. Meanwhile the Li and Chang rebellion had been making way in the provinces. In Shensi, Shansi, and Honan the first named had become all powerful, and to Chang's lot had fallen considerable success in Hupeh and Kiangnan. At Hsiangyang one of those curious coincidences which occasionally befall adventurers occurred to Chang. On entering the city he, by chance, discovered his wife and children, who had been captured by the imperialists some ten months before, living quietly among the people. That they had not met the common doom of the relatives of rebels is probably to be attributed less to the mercy of their captors than to the idea that they might be held as hostages to tempt Chang to return to his allegiance. Though generally victory sided with Li he met with

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failure before K'aifêng. What Ningyuan had been to T'ientsung that city was to Li. His repeated attacks on the fortress were as vain as the washing of the waves against a rock, and after numerous assaults, in one of which he lost an eye, he determined to adopt a desperate expedient such as is happily unknown in civilized warfare. Within a short distance of the city walls flows the sluggish stream of the Yellow River, between high banks which rise up at a considerable elevation above the plain. All that was necessary to effect the ruin of the city was to make a breach in the embankment so as to flood, as has often happened in the history of the empire, the neighboring districts. The breach was made, and the water swept over the plain and into the city, devastating the country and destroying imperialists and rebels alike. Fully a million people are said to have perished in this fearful catastrophe, Li himself losing ten thousand men in the waters. But his object was gained, and what Li's soldiers could not effect the Yellow River accomplished. When the breach was filled in and the flood had subsided the rebel banners floated on the ramparts of the stronghold.

Li now felt his position to be sufficiently strong to justify him in proclaiming himself king, a title which satisfied his ambition for one year. At the end of that time his taste coming with eating he took to himself the title of emperor and named the dynasty which he hoped to found, the T'ai Shun. Further, in imitation of the existing system of government, he appointed six boards of office, and satisfied the cravings of his followers by establishing ranks of nobility to which he freely admitted them.

Having thus placed himself on the throne it only remained for him to make himself master of the capital, and to accomplish this object he undertook an adventurous expedition toward Peking. By the way he captured T'aiyuan, the capital of Shansi, and then led his triumphant warriors against the stronghold of Ningwu. This fortress was strongly garrisoned and valiantly held, nor was it taken until ten thousand of the besiegers had licked the dust, and the city had been given to the flames. The resistance which the Chinese had here offered gave Li a pause which, however, was of short duration. Unexpectedly, while musing on the possibilities of a retreat, news reached him of the surrender of the cities of Tat'ung and Hsunhwa. The road to Peking was thus open to him, and with as little delay as possible he presented himself before the walls of the capital.

Numerically the garrison of Peking was quite large enough to defend the city, but it is safe to assert that no Chinese army is ever so numerous and powerful as it appears to be on paper. Even, however, with the army as it was, it is possible that a stout defense might have been made, and that the city might have been held until a relieving force had come to the rescue. But other influences were at work, and the commander of the southern gates, a man "composed and framed of treachery," opened his gate to the enemy. A faint-hearted defense of the palace was made by men who were more concerned for their own safety than for the preservation of the dynasty, and the emperor, instead of placing himself at the head of his troops, and either losing his life or saving his throne, took to flight. From the top of a hill which stands in the northern portion of the city, he looked down upon a scene of bloodshed and conflagration such as is the common fate of captured cities in the East. Finding that escape on the northern side was impossible he returned to the city, hoping to find a way open to him in some other direction. But the rebel forces on all sides barred his exit. Thus confronted with difficulty, he returned to the hill, and, having written a letter imploring the rebels to spare his people, hanged himself on a tree. It is a curious illustration of the Chinese reverence for a royal race that by order of the first emperor of the present dynasty this tree was loaded with chains in token of the crime it had committed in being instrumental to the death of a Son of Heaven.

Li was now in possession of Peking, and in obedience to the usual custom in such cases, the magnates of the capital who had survived the siege presented themselves at court to pay their homage to him. Among these was a certain Wu, whose son, Wu Sankwei, had succeeded Chunghwan in the command at Ningyuan, and had held that fortress with all the courage of his predecessor. On the approach of Li's army the emperor had ordered this officer to march to the relief of the capital. While on the way thither news reached him of the fall of Peking and the death of the emperor. Almost simultaneously a messenger arrived bearing a letter from his father urging him to offer his submission to Li, and enforcing his entreaties by the news that the lives of himself and the other members of the family at Peking depended on his giving in his allegiance. At first Wu Sankwei was inclined to consent, but while he was yet wavering the messenger informed him of an event which at once induced him to take the opposite course.

In not a few instances in the world's history a woman has changed the fate of empires, and in this case a young slave girl was indirectly the cause of the ultimate triumph of the present Manchu Dynasty in China. Before he had left Peking to take up the command of Ningyuan, Wu Sankwei had been presented by a friend with a young slave girl who added great beauty to her many virtues. It was possibly with the thought of saving her from the general massacre which, as a Chinaman, he knew would overtake the inhabitants of Peking if surrendered to Li, that at the first summons he had marched with alacrity to the relief of the capital.

He now learned from the messenger that Ch'enyuan, as the lady was called, had been given as part of the spoil of the city to a rebel officer. After this outrage submission to the guilty powers was impossible, and he obviously had no compliments to exchange with the triumphant rebel. In his anger he wrote two notable letters, one upbraiding his father for yielding the lady to the embraces of a rebel, and another to the regent of the Manchus, inviting him to combine with him in an attack upon the new ruler of Peking. This startling turn of events made it incumbent on Li to march against the allies. At the approach of the rebel legions, Wu Sankwei, who had returned to the fortress of Shanhai Kwan, made every preparation to oppose the advancing host. Thinking it possible that the sight of his father might cause Wu Sankwei to relent and submit, Li ordered that the old man should be led out within sight of the walls. With tears and entreaties the father implored his son to save his life by submitting. But the recollection of the slave girl at Peking was too fresh in memory to allow Wu Sankwei to yield, and in a few words he declared that no power on earth would induce him to surrender his command to rebels, and to rebels who had inflicted such a wrong upon him. The duty of filial obedience is the first moral law recognized by the Chinese, and in any other circumstances Wu Sankwei would doubtless have submitted. But his affections outweighed his sense of duty, and he did not hesitate a moment in virtually sentencing his father to death. Seeing that it was hopeless to expect to win over so determined an enemy, Li gave the order for the execution of the elder Wu, and in the sight of the two contending armies the old man suffered death by decapitation.

It was plain that there was now a breach between the two commanders that nothing could bridge over, and Wu Sankwei determined to take what revenge he could by marching against the enemy. It is said that Li's force numbered 220,000 men. But nothing awed by these huge battalions, the imperialist general marched out from the cover of the fortress and gave battle. So fierce was the onslaught of the imperialists that the rebel cavalry were driven back on their supports. These joined in the engagement, and but for the undaunted courage of Wu and his men would certainly have overwhelmed them. As the day wore on it became plain that their ruin was inevitable had not the Manchu regent, Dorgun, prepared a seasonable relief. A large force of his men who had been disposed in secret and difficult passes in the mountains suddenly assailed the rebels, who were already rejoicing in the belief that the victory was won. This favorable change in the conditions was improved by the valor of Wu. He revived the courage of his troops, and pressed the rebels on every side. The regent's maneuver was completely successful. The rebels, taken by surprise, reeled under the shock of the charge of the Manchu cavalry, and after a short and half-hearted stand turned and fled. For fourteen miles the allies followed the flying enemy and slaughtered them in hecatombs. To Wu was assigned the duty of following still further in pursuit, while the Manchu regent returned to Shanhai Kwan to rest his troops, who were already exhausted by their long and hurried march from Manchuria.

Li fled to Peking, where, having possessed himself of everything valuable that was portable, and having ordered the execution of the family and dependents of Wu, he set fire to the palace and continued his flight westward. With the dogged tenacity of a sleuthhound Wu followed at his heels, and, strengthened by the prestige of victory, inflicted a series of defeats on the disheartened rebels. There is always a tendency to desert a falling cause, and more especially is this true in China, where success is the national test of merit. Li's men were now suffering the dire consequences of an unsuccessful rebellion, and they deserted his banners in whole battalions. With but twenty followers, and destitute of both food and clothing, the wretched band of discomfited rebels were driven to supply their wants by plundering the poverty-stricken peasantry of Shensi. Unfortunately for them their numbers were insufficient to overawe the pillaged rustics, who, seizing the implements of their toil, turned on their oppressors and cut them down one by one. When Wu's troops reached Li's final halting place they found nothing but the bodies of the arch rebel and his dwindled following.

Meanwhile the Regent Dorgun, who held the reins of government for his infant nephew and sovereign, entered Peking in triumph in 1644. The city was well-nigh burned to the ground, for Wu Sankwei's beautiful slave girl had, like another Helen, fired another Troy. In these circumstances Dorgun recognized that his first duties, if he was to establish a dynasty, were to reassure the people by establishing order, and to calm, so far as possible, the proud susceptibilities of the upper classes by showing regard to their prejudices. He therefore issued a proclamation which was more conspicuous for its policy than for its truth. He assured the people in it that his one object in marching into the capital was to save them from the pillage and violence of the rebel Li; and he urged them to rebuild the ruined city, promising to protect their goods and property against all comers. At the same time he conferred the posthumous title of "The sedate and heroic emperor" on the sovereign who had put an end to his existence on the hill above Peking. By a stroke of the pen he proclaimed the removal of the capital from Moukden to Peking, and directed that his nephew, who was then but six years old, should join him at the latter city. The revolution was now complete, and the new dynasty established which still holds possession of the throne. The young emperor adopted the title of Shunchih.

During the reigns of the Ming emperors the palace eunuchs, as has often happened in the history of the empire, acquired additional power as the hands which held the reins of government became increasingly nerveless. The danger of such a shameful usurpation of authority is sufficiently obvious, and was fully recognized by Dorgun, who issued an order that henceforth no eunuch should be allowed to exercise official authority under the crown, and to the present day this law holds force. So generally conciliatory, however, to all ranks was Dorgun's attitude that the upper classes in the neighborhood of the capital readily gave in their adhesion to his rule. So far all was well, but in the provinces a very different state of things prevailed. The inhabitants of the central provinces had had no knowledge of the exactions and cruelties of Li and his confederates, nor had they experienced the relief that had been felt at Peking by the substitution of a settled government for a rebel tyranny. The fact also that for the most part they were free from the taint of Manchu blood naturally inclined them to take a line against the invaders. For this last reason it has always been that among the people of the south the Ming Dynasty has found its strongest supporters. In modern times it will be remembered that the T'aip'ing rebellion, which had for its proposed object the restoration of the Chinese rulers, first took shape in Kwangsi, and the very powerful secret society, the Kolaohwei, which has its strongest base on the shores of the Yang-tsze-kiang, has for its motto, " Overthrow the Ch'ing and restore the Ming."

At this time in the old capital of the first sovereign of the Ming Dynasty, there arose a scholar, Shih K'ofa, who adopted, in principle, the motto of the Kolaohwei, and aroused his compatriots in defense of the expiring line of sovereigns. So formidable was the movement that the regent, Dorgun, thought it wisest and best to open negotiations with the rebel. But Shih declined to listen to the appeals made to him, and declared that matters had reached such a crisis that the decision of their quarrel must be left to the arbitrament of war. Meanwhile, on the death of the Ming emperor, Ts'ungchêng, it had become necessary to elect a successor to the throne, and the choice fell on Fu Wang, a son of the prince of that name, who had been Wan Li's favorite son, and who had returned the kindness shown him by his father by rebelling against him. A more unfortunate choice could not have been made. For such an emergency a sovereign was required who should be a man endowed with wisdom, courage, and energy. In all these qualities Fu Wang was signally wanting, and he spent in lust and riot time which should have been devoted to furthering his cause and consolidating his forces. In the campaign which followed on the marching of the Manchu army to suppress the revolt Fu Wang was rather an incumbrance than otherwise, and the whole conduct of the war fell upon Shih.

On the lower waters of the Yang-tsze-kiang, and close to the junction of the Grand Canal with that river, stands the ancient city of Yangchow, which commands the approach to Nanking from the north. Here Shih took his stand and awaited the attack of the enemy. Nor was this attack long delayed. Accustomed to lengthened marches and constant fatigues, the Manchus passed rapidly over country which represented leisurely marches to less nomadic troops, and appeared suddenly before the walls. For seven days the fighting lasted around the doomed city, and at the end of that time the Manchus rushed to the assault. The exhausted garrison failed to withstand the terrible onslaught, and in the midst of awful bloodshed the city fell. The diary of a contemporary inhabitant of Yangchow has lately been published, and from it it is easy to gather both that the arrival of the Manchus before the walls was quite unexpected, and that the slaughter of the inhabitants even after the city was taken was carried out with brutal cruelty and thoroughness. Shih was cut down as he was attempting to make his escape by way of the north gate, and his troops were slaughtered almost to a man. Leaving a garrison within the walls, the Manchu leader marched on to Nanking, where the puppet Fu Wang was indulging in all the vices and follies common to Oriental sovereigns of the baser sort. In the midst of a drunken carouse the news was brought him of the approach of the Manchus. To a man of imperial caliber such a juncture would have suggested that he should place himself at the head of his troops and march against the enemy. But the only idea which occurred to Fu Wang was to fly from his capital, leaving it a prey to the advancing hosts. His flight availed him nothing, for he was speedily overtaken by a mounted force sent in pursuit, and was brought a prisoner into Nanking, where after a short shrift he was beheaded.

For three days Ch'ang Wang, who succeeded Fu Wang, enjoyed the empty title of emperor and held court for that brief period at Hangchow. But the valor of the early Ming sovereigns had long exhausted itself, and instead of attempting to defend the city he opened the gates to the enemy on the understanding that they should spare the lives of himself and of the inhabitants. Oriental leaders are bad people to treat with in such emergencies, and though in this case the people were left unmolested, the first act of the Manchu leader was to order the execution of the occupier of the Ming throne. The next to assume the imperial purple was T'ang Wang, a descendant of Hungwu, the first sovereign of the Ming Dynasty. Though this man showed more of the royal spirit than his immediate predecessors had done, all his efforts to oppose the Manchus proved fruitless, and the whole of the rich and fertile district embracing the cities of Ningpo, Shanghai, Wênchow, and T'aichow fell into the hands of the invaders. At Tingchow T'ang Wang was captured, and there the usual fate of defeated sovereigns overtook him.

But though defeated everywhere on land, hopes were still entertained that the immense fleet commanded by Chêng Chihlung might yet turn the tide of war. Admiral Chêng was a native of the maritime province of Fuhkien, and had in early life come under the influence of the Roman Catholic missionaries who labored in the cause of their faith in that province. Being of a restless disposition and probably attracted by his Portuguese fathers in God, he migrated to Macao and thence drifted to Manila, and subsequently to Japan. Like most foreign visitors to Japan he fell under the charm of the women of that country, and eventually took one to wife, by whom a son was born, who was named Chêng Kung. Chêng's early years had been passed in poverty, and, following the instincts of his race, his one absorbing desire was to court the god of wealth. When, therefore, an opportunity presented itself for laying the foundation of an enormous fortune, which, however, any honorable man would have disregarded, he seized on it without a scruple. Having wormed himself into the good graces of a Japanese merchant, he induced his employer to intrust him with a rich cargo for the China markets. On arriving at Foochow he, without the slightest compunction, appropriated the cargo, and with the proceeds fitted out a fleet of piratical junks, with which he harried the coast and plundered the merchant shipping. So successful was he in this enterprise that he quickly amassed colossal wealth, and with it gained considerable power and importance. Following a time-honored precedent, the emperor, fearing to combat him, made overtures to the successful pirate, on whom, at his submission to the throne, he conferred the rank of admiral. With honeyed words the new commander was invited to Peking, and once there was placed in the position of a state prisoner. So long as the Emperor Shunchih reigned he was allowed to live at ease within the city walls, for the emperor, like another David, had promised that no harm should befall him while under his protection. But whether with or without the treacherous message addressed to Solomon with which David sealed Joab's fate, the emperor had no sooner become a guest on high than the regents appointed during the minority of his successor threw the late pirate into prison, and eventually sent him to the execution ground. The son born to Chêng by his Japanese wife had at an early period attracted the attention of the emperor. At the extraordinarily youthful age of fifteen this scion of the pirate took his degree at the competitive examinations, and as a reward for his eminent ability the emperor conferred on him his own surname of Chu, and further honored him by expressing a regret that he had no daughter to bestow upon him in marriage.

From the circumstance of his having received the imperial surname he was designated Kwosingye (" Possessor of the National Surname "), which has been corrupted by foreigners into Koxinga. When Admiral Chêng was invited to Peking the emperor hoped that Koxinga would have accompanied him. But the young man feared the imperial messengers with their gifts, and instead of journeying with his father northward, carried off a fleet which he had collected and sailed to the Pescadores, where he fortified himself against all comers.

Meanwhile the rebellion in the provinces continued with varying success. At one time Kwei Wang, who had succeeded to the Ming throne on the death of T'ang Wang, appeared to be gaining ground. In Kiangsi and Kwangtung his generals were victorious, and the great prize of Canton fell into his hands. But once more the tide turned, and the people of the provinces and cities had scarcely yet learned to pronounce again the shibboleth of the Ming Dynasty when such of them as survived again passed under the Manchu rule. On the recapture of Canton, Koxinga, who had favored the Ming cause in so far as it chimed in with his piratical instincts, gave refuge on board his ships to the fugitive population. With an immense force he subsequently attacked the Tartar detachments on the coast of Fuhkien, and gained considerable advantages over them. He then proceeded northward, and even ventured to undertake the siege of Nanking. This, however, was a venture beyond his power, and while, as it is said, his troops were reveling in anticipation of the assault on the city, which they were to have made on the following morning, the Manchu leader delivered an attack which utterly discomfited Koxinga's host. Three thousand men of the besieging army were slain, and Koxinga, with the remnants of his fleet and army, sailed to the more congenial regions of the south. The Manchus have never been good sailors. To them the sea is a foreign element, and so long as there was an effective Chinese fleet they were always subject to disaster on the coast. In other parts of the empire victory followed their standards, and Kwei Wang's fortunes reached their lowest ebb.

We have seen how Wu Sankwei followed the flying footsteps of the rebel Li until he ran him to earth, and now with the same ruthless tenacity he chased Kwei Wang through the provinces of Kweichow and Yunnan, and even over the border into Burma. On arriving at the Burmese capital the imperial fugitive had been cordially received by the king, who, however, at the sight of Wu Sankwei's large and threatening army, thought it wise to forego the pleasure of hospitality. He therefore handed his guest over to the Chinese general, in whose custody he, either by his own hands or by those of executioners, met his fate. Hitherto the fortunes of the Manchus had been guided by the regent, Dorgun, but about this time the young emperor was by an adverse fate deprived of his counsel. During a hunting expedition which he had undertaken into Manchuria death overtook him, much to the grief of the youthful sovereign, who granted him an imperial funeral and eulogized his virtues in an imperial edict. But while the memory of his services was yet green, a charge of intended rebellion was brought against him. Inquiries, the value of which may fairly be doubted, having proved to the satisfaction of the boy emperor that this charge was well founded, the honors which had been conferred upon him were canceled and his named consigned to oblivion. It is evidence of the supremacy which the Manchus had acquired at this time that two European embassies arrived at Peking with the design of opening diplomatic relations with Shunchih. Though they came by different routes, the Dutch arriving by sea and the Russian overland through Siberia, the reception which they met with was the same, and was not such as to encourage others to follow in their footsteps. As a preliminary they were told that on entering the presence of the emperor they would be expected to "k'ot'ow." The Dutchman yielded, and got very little for his pains. After lengthy negotiations and a liberal distribution of presents the imperial answer to his petition was couched in these words: "You have asked leave to come to trade in my country, but as your country is so far distant, and the winds on the east coast so boisterous and so dangerous to your ships, if you do think fit to send hither I desire it may be but once every eight years, and no more than one hundred men in a company, twenty of whom may come up to the place where I keep my court." The Russians, as a reward for their contumacy, were not even granted these doubtful privileges, but were dismissed no richer than they came, and returned by Siberia to report their failure to the Czar. These were the first European embassies which reached Peking (1656), and their receptions taught lessons which happily were not altogether lost upon their successors. While affairs were thus settling down in the empire Koxinga was pursuing his piratical course with varying success. That he harried the coast is conclusively proved from the fact that the emperor thought it necessary to issue an edict commanding the natives of the littoral provinces to retire four leagues inland—a command which, strange to say, was strictly enforced.

It was while the Empire was in this unsettled state that the emperor, Shunchih, was gathered to his fathers, in 1661, after a reign of eighteen years. Before his death he nominated his second son as heir to the throne. No choice could have been happier. K'anghsi was in every way qualified to rule. From his youth up, as it proved, he was straightforward, honest, and of good report, and after a reign of sixty-one years, during which time he ruled his subjects with firmness and justice, he died regretted by all. He was only eight years old when he ascended the throne, and his earlier years of sovereignty were guided by the advice of four regents appointed by his father. After the death of Kwei Wang the most important rebellious force in the empire with which the regents had to contend was that commanded by Koxinga, and they at once took steps to crush their dangerous opponent. In 1663 a Chinese fleet, in conjunction with some Dutch ships, whose cooperation had been secured, attacked the pirate in his haunts at Amoy. Victory attended the allies, and Koxinga, finding it no longer possible to retain his hold on the mainland, took ship to Formosa, where he established himself as king, and where he subsequently died in a fit of madness. The empire may now be said to have reached a time of peace, a formidable rebellion which had broken out in Szech'uan having previously collapsed. This movement funishes so apt an illustration of the fiendish cruelty which too often governs the action of Orientals when fighting for a failing cause, that it deserves mention. Being anxious to secure the support of the learned for his enterprise, Hsi Wang, the rebel chief, induced thirty thousand *Literati* of the province to take up their residence at his capital at Ch'engtu. On some slight provocation the tyrant ordered the slaughter of every one of the Confucianists, and subsequently massacred six hundred thousand of the inhabitants of the city on the bare suspicion that they were disaffected toward him. But his culminating crime was yet to come.

As is the case with most rebel armies, his enormous forces had been kept together by the prospect of the plunder to which he had hitherto been able to lead them, and among the spoils taken from the conquered districts had been immense numbers of women and girls, several of whom had been given as prizes to each of the soldiers. In the easy times of success the existence of these camp followers, though burdensome, was readily sanctioned, but in the face of danger and difficulty, of rapid movements, and of fierce attacks, their presence was plainly inconsistent with the efficiency of the army. Hsi Wang felt therefore that they were to be got rid of, and he knew of only one way of accomplishing his object. In pursuance of it he issued an edict commanding every soldier to bring his women on to the parade ground at a certain hour, and then at a given signal the tyrant himself set the example which he desired should be followed, by slaying his handmaids with his own hands. It is said that on that day four hundred thousand women were slaughtered. In dealing with such facts it is fortunate that we are not bound to accept the figures mentioned as being accurate. Orientals delight in round numbers, and it should in fairness be remembered that the accounts we have of these transactions come from the pens of imperialist chroniclers, who certainly would not be inclined to understate the crimes of their opponents.

The position of a regent in an Oriental country is one which is always surrounded with difficulties. Every act is liable to be misconstrued, and every mistake is apt to be visited with undue censure. If this is the case when one regent holds the reins of power, it is easy to see that when four coequal potentates reign supreme there must inevitably be abundant opportunities for jealousies and heart-burnings. Such was eminently the case at the present time, and to such lengths did the consequent disagreements go, that the emperor by a stroke of his pen dissolved the regency and himself assumed the government in 1667. To no section of the community was this change more welcome than to the Roman Catholic missionaries and their converts. During the reign of Shunchih every consideration had been paid them, and high honors had been conferred on their most eminent member, Père Schaal, who had even held the lofty and responsible post of tutor to the young emperor. No sooner, however, were Shunchih's eyes sealed in death than the regents, who, in the true spirit of Chinese conservatism, had cherished a bitter resentment at the favor which had been shown to the foreigners and their faith, threw Schaal into prison under one of those charges which are so easily trumped up against unpopular personages in Eastern countries, and sentenced to death by *Lingeh'ih,* or the slow and lingering process. Fortunately even the regents were wise enough to abstain from putting this cruel sentence into execution, and Schaal was left in prison until death released him in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

Unfortunately this consummation was reached before K'anghsi began to rule. But no sooner had he taken the reins than he did all in his power to redress the balance which had of late been so unfairly turned against the missionaries. It is curious to see, however, how strong the opposition was to any extension of privileges to that body. The half-hearted measures of relief accorded to them by K'anghsi sufficiently mark the difficulties with which he had to contend. He issued an imperial edict granting leave to the missionaries who had been driven into hiding by the regents to return to their churches, but forbade them to proselytize. "As we do not restrain the lamas of Tartary," so ran the edict, "or the bonzes of China, from building temples and burning incense, we cannot refuse these having their own churches, and publicly teaching their religion, especially as nothing has been alleged against it as contrary to law. Were we now to do this we should contradict ourselves. We hold therefore that they may build temples to the Lord of Heaven and maintain them wherever they will; and that those who honor them may freely resort to them to burn incense and to observe the rites usual to Christianity."

Meanwhile Père Verbiest, a Dutch priest, had succeeded Père Schaal at Peking. The young emperor, who was greatly interested in philosophy and science, and who had found the father proficient in both subjects, appointed him his tutor, and listened with eager attention to his discourses on the intricate subjects of Christianity and philosophy. It so happened that at this time doubts arose as to the accuracy of the calendar issued by the astronomical board. In this difficulty the emperor turned to Père Verbiest, who demonstrated to his majesty's complete satisfaction that an egregious mistake had been made by the native astronomers. As a reward for his knowledge and sagacity the emperor made the priest president of the board, and dismissed the native presidents from their offices, at the same time commanding the new president to issue a revised calendar. The disgraced officials, fearful lest their ignorance should be made public throughout the empire, begged Verbiest not to expose the mistake into which they had fallen. He, however, refused to listen to their pleadings, and possibly with a self-righteous satisfaction at the consciousness that he was right and that they were wrong, refused in any way to blink their error. The wisdom of this course was open to doubt, and in the persecutions that followed it may well be imagined that a recollection of this passage of arms may have added virulence to the aspersions of the *Literati.*

During the campaign against the Ming rebels which had ended in consolidating the imperial power, it had been deemed wise to confer the rank of prince on the three generals who had contributed most to the success of the cause. The leader of these three was the redoubtable Wu Sankwei, who by virtue of his office was practically in possession of the provinces of Kweichow and Yunnan. The other two viceroys presided over the destinies of Kwangtung and Kwangsi; and of Fuhkien and Chehkiang. All these three were Chinamen, and, therefore, were not bound by racial ties to the new dynasty. Their careers, also, had not displayed any fixed loyalty to any given cause, and K'anghsi felt that it was dangerous to leave them in undisputed possession of their viceroyalties. Of the three he had reason to dread Wu Sankwei the most, both from his character and from the influence which he wielded, and though he held Wu's son as a hostage for his father's loyalty, he deemed it only prudent to put the views of the veteran to the test. It has always been usual for high dignitaries to visit the court at varying intervals, and there was nothing unusual, therefore, in the summons which K'anghsi issued inviting Wu to present himself at the capital. But the younger Wu, who was connected by marriage with the court, being aware of the course which the imperial suspicions were taking, dispatched a messenger to his father warning him not to accept the invitation. Acting on this hint, Wu pleaded old age and begged the emperor to excuse his undertaking such a long journey. This implied refusal confirmed the emperor's suspicions, but being unwilling immediately to drive so powerful a man into open enmity, he commissioned officials to inquire whether decrepitude really debarred Wu from presenting himself at Peking. Wu received these by no means welcome visitors with a show of cordiality, but when they broached the real object of their visit and urged him to comply with the emperor's desire, he felt that it was time to speak plainly. "Yes, I will come to Peking," he said, "but it will be at the head of eighty thousand soldiers."

This declaration made further negotiations unnecessary, and the envoys returned to Peking to report their want of success. Meanwhile, Wu Sankwei raised the standard of rebellion, and proceeded to form a separate state of the provinces under his control. He had on a former occasion sacrificed his father to his political leanings, and now his action was destined to send his son to the execution ground. The historians tell us that the younger Wu had been detected in a plot to assassinate the emperor in his palace. This possibly may have been so, for Oriental courts are fit scenes for "treasons, stratagems, and spoils," but the reported crime so closely synchronizes with his father's rebellion that there appears to be a likelihood that the charge, if ever preferred, was trumped up to justify the extreme measures which the emperor took against him.

The news of the death of his son added intensity to Wu Sankwei's hatred of the usurping dynasty, and in 1674 he killed the governor of Yunnan, and virtually conquered that province, together with Kweichow, Szech'uan, and Hunan. Being still willing, however, to arrive at a peaceable solution K'anghsi once more attempted to open negotiations with him, but the veteran was irreconcilable, and so potent was his influence that his two fellow-princes threw in their lot with his, and thus the whole of the west and south of China were in arms against the Manchus. To add to the complexity of the position an outbreak occurred within the walls of Peking, and at the same time the Mongol chieftain, Satchar, threatened the northern frontier with a hundred thousand men. The emergency was one which may well have tried the stoutest courage. But K'anghsi was equal to the occasion. By the aid of troops drawn from the Liaotung peninsula he crushed the Mongol movement, and brought Satchar with his family as prisoners to Peking. Having thus disposed of the difficulty in his rear he marched his armies against the southern rebels. Success attended his arms. The provinces of Fuhkien and Chehkiang were recovered without striking a blow by the submission of the viceroy, and Wu was driven out of Hunan and Szech'uan. To inspire his troops with zeal K'anghsi, in 1678, proposed to place himself at their head, and while preparing to leave Peking for the front the welcome news reached him of the death of Wu. With the disappearance from the political stage of this veteran, the back of the rebellion may be said to have been broken. Wu's grandson, who succeeded to the command, though brave, failed to preserve the frontiers committed to him. By the relentless and persistent Manchu he was driven from city to city, until he reached Yunnan Fu, where he made his last stand. The city, however, was taken, and to avoid submitting to the tender mercies of the imperialists the rebel chief committed suicide. With Oriental barbarity the Manchu leader beheaded the lifeless corpse, and sent the head as a trophy to Peking; but even this did not satisfy his cruel humor. With an excess of brutality he disinterred the body of Wu Sankwei, and so scattered the bones over the provinces which had owned his sway in life that no one should be able to say "this is Wu Sankwei." The year in which these events took place had been a distressful one to China. As if in sympathy with the disturbed political conditions an earthquake shook the foundations of Peking, and destroyed three hundred thousand within the city and neighborhood.

Peace, however, having been once more restored within the "eighteen provinces," K'anghsi had an opportunity of attacking Koxinga's successor, who held a rebellious sway in the Pescadores and Formosa. At the head of three hundred ships containing twelve thousand men the Manchu commander sailed to attack the island fastnesses of the rebels in the first-named group. With this imposing force he advanced to the attack, but was met by a determined resistance on the part of the pirates. The battle lasted all day, and at the close the Manchus were completely successful. Twelve thousand rebels are said to have been slain, and the majority of the survivors taking ship fled to Formosa. Thither the Manchus followed them, but their ships being of considerable draught they were, at first, unable to approach the shore. An unusually high spring tide, however, carried the vessels over the shallows in precisely the same way as that, remembered by the rebels, in which Koxinga's ships had been brought within striking distance of the shore. The similarity of the two incidents deeply impressed the superstitious natives, who, readily accepting the superficial belief that the increased depth of water was due entirely to the interposition of Providence, submitted without a struggle to the invaders. Koxinga's son was sent to Peking, where the emperor varied the usual practice of decapitation by creating him a duke, and, at the same time, lavished honors on the victors in the fray.

The wide extent of the Chinese Empire, and the number of peoples who are actually, or theoretically, subject to Peking, enforce on the country an almost chronic state of war. On the north and west the empire is bounded by mountain ranges which are inhabited by hardy and warlike tribes, to whom the empire's difficulty is their opportunity. And thus it was not, probably, a surprise to K'anghsi to receive news of hostilities on his northern frontier, while yet he was crowning with laurels the generals who had vanquished Wu Sankwei, and had recovered Formosa. It had always been difficult to trace the beginning of the many tribal wars outside the northern marches, and Central Asia had been so long and completely shrouded from observance that, at this time, little was known at Peking of the progress of events beyond the Great Wall. The first intimation which reached K'anghsi that mischief was brewing was the irruption across the frontier of bodies of Khalka Tartars into Chinese territory. These men brought news that the Eleuths, a Kalmuck tribe occupying a territory in the neighborhood of Ili, had declared war against their countrymen, who, as they took pains to remind K'anghsi, owned allegiance to China. This was practically a declaration of war against the Middle Kingdom, but Galdan, the chief of the Eleuths, was not unnaturally anxious to enjoy the advantage of peace with China while he fought with his Tartar neighbors. He therefore sent ambassadors to Peking, who reached the capital just at the time when Wu Sankwei's rebellion was absorbing K'anghsi's attention. So disastrous at this crisis appeared to be the state of the empire that the envoys were induced to suppose and to expect, that, as had been the case in many other royal lines, the Ch'ing Dynasty was tottering to its fall. Galdan therefore carried on his invasion of the Khalka country free from any dread of reprisals from the suzerain state.

At this juncture a new power appeared on the banks of the Amur River. With that steady step which is characteristic of the Russians, they had been gradually extending their frontier eastward, and had erected fortifications and entrenchments at Albazin on the upper course of the Amur. Galdan recognizing the superior weapons and organization of the Europeans, offered them an alliance which he was quick witted enough to see would impart strength to his ambitious designs against China. Rumors of these intrigues having reached Peking, K'anghsi dispatched envoys to the Khalka country, and sent with them the two Jesuit missionaries, Gerbillon and Pereira. These men had won the confidence of the emperor by their straightforward conduct and scientific knowledge, and had secured his gratitude by, on one occasion, curing him of a severe attack of fever by the use of quinine. They possessed also the unusual qualification of a knowledge of both his Mongolian and Russian languages.

The accounts which these envoys brought back made it plain to K'anghsi that if he was to maintain his hold over the Khalka country, and check the advance of the Russians, who showed a decided tendency to encroach on the fertile lands south of the Amur River, it would be necessary for him to send a force to overawe the Tartars and to drive the European invaders across the frontier. It may well be supposed that the Russians felt themselves secure from an attack in a region so remote from Peking, and doubtless their surprise was great when they found a Chinese army advancing against them. Though behind entrenchments and in possession of superior weapons, they were unable to withstand the attack of K'anghsi's hordes. Their fortifications were demolished, and those of the garrison who survived were taken prisoners and were marched to Peking, where a small quarter in the northern part of the city was appropriated to their use. The descendants of these men, who for the most part married Chinese wives and settled down as citizens of the capital, still occupy the same streets and houses as their ancestors did in the seventeenth century, and even now among them a European type of face is sometimes to be noticed, though the large mixture of Chinese blood which must necessarily run through their veins may well have obliterated all traces of their Caucasian origin. The ruin which had overtaken Albazin did not, however, prevent the Russians from again occupying the dismantled forts and entrenchments of that town. So long as the country was disturbed by war's alarms, Père Gerbillon and Père Pereira had no opportunity of opening negotiations, but in 1689 they succeeded in coming to terms with the representative of the Russian Government, and finally signed a treaty at Nerchinsk on the Amur by which it was arranged that Russia should be bounded as to her ambition by the river northward, and should cease to disturb the peace of its southern shores. This was the first treaty that the

Chinese ever concluded with a European power, and was the precursor of the many conventions which have since been concluded between the two empires.

Though foiled in his endeavor to enlist the help of Russia in his ambitious career, Galdan yet felt himself strong enough to renew his campaign single-handed against the Khalkas. With a certain amount of effrontery he complained that the Chinese had accepted as subjects the Khalkas who had fled over the southern frontier to escape from his troops. As the Khalkas were already Chinese subjects the complaint was preposterous; but, strange as it may seem, it met with the support of the Dalai Lama of Tibet, of whom it may be said that if his religious instincts were not truer than his political ideas the spiritual condition of the people under him must have been in a parlous state. Wisely K'anghsi refused to listen to this misguided prelate, and prepared to take the field against his northern enemy. Meanwhile Galdan suffered a defeat which was as disastrous as it was unexpected. While yet a young man he had, after the by no means uncommon manner of his countrymen, murdered his elder brother, for no other reason than that the latter was a bar to his own succession to the chieftainship. The son of the murdered man had, under the influence of K'anghsi, assumed the command of a portion of the Khalka territory, and between him and his uncle there was, as may well be imagined, a deathless blood feud. In an engagement fought between the forces of the two relatives the son of the murdered man partly avenged the assassination by inflicting a crushing defeat on his uncle's troops. But, though discomfited, Galdan was by no means vanquished, and gained respect among his compeers by an act which in Western countries would be deemed infamous. K'anghsi had sent envoys to Galdan in the vain hope that even yet further hostilities might be averted. These men Galdan arrested, and held as hostages for the peaceable action of the Chinese. So soon as the news of this outrage reached Peking, K'anghsi resigned all thoughts of peace, and marched three armies against the recalcitrant Mongol. After an arduous march through the dreary wastes which separate China proper from the Mongolian pastures the imperial armies faced their enemy at Wulanputang. After the manner of his kind, Galdan, seeing the immense forces with which he had to contend, attempted to avoid the impending evil by opening negotiations; but K'anghsi, rating these overtures at their proper value, answered him by marching to the attack. By a most mistaken strategy Galdan surrounded his men by a huge defense composed of countless camels, and awaited the onslaught. It will be remembered that in Wu Sankwei's campaign against the Burmese the Burmans made the mistake of placing their elephants in the front rank, with the result that when tortured by the Manchu arrows the huge monsters turned and ran among the ranks of their masters, throwing them into hopeless confusion. A similar fate overtook Galdan's troops. The fire from the Chinese guns so frightened the camels that they trampled through the Mongol soldiers, and left them an easy prey to their enemies. It often happens in Eastern warfare that an incompetent general fails to reap the full results of victory by not following up his defeated foes, and on this occasion the want of warlike energy displayed by the Chinese gave a new lease of life to Galdan. Illness had made the return of K'anghsi to Peking absolutely necessary, and his generals, deprived of his wisdom and energy, instead of pursuing the shattered forces of the enemy, withdrew their troops, and allowed Galdan to reorganize his broken forces.

For a time political and military matters remained in a state of suspended animation. War, however, was in the air, and while yet a sort of armed truce was existing Galdan committed an act of profligate wrong which precipitated action. K'anghsi, desiring to be in touch with passing events in Central Asia, had sent envoys to Galdan's nephew, the Khalka chief. On their way to the Khalka capital these emissaries were attacked, robbed, and murdered by Galdan's troops. Such an act in Western countries would place the doer beyond the pale of civilization. But in Asia events of the kind are not so uncommon as to arouse unusual indignation. K'anghsi, however, waxed wroth at the outrage; but still being unwilling to make reconciliation impossible, he wrote the offender a letter, in which, with a certain magnanimity, he gave him room for repentance. "I learn that, nowithstanding your oaths," he wrote, "you and Tsi Wang Rabdan cannot live at peace with one another; the instant I was informed of your disagreements I took steps to remove them. I sent one of the officers of my tribunal to be the bearer of words of peace, and your people, like mere savages, have committed the inhuman act of massacring him. . . . What ought I to think of conduct which proclaims you false to both your oath and your allegiance? I now finally desire to warn you that unless your repentance follows close upon your fault I shall come with arms in my hands to exact from you the fullest reparation for these outrages."

But though K'anghsi was placable, Galdan, with all the restless combativeness of a tribal leader, threw peace to the winds and prepared for war. To strengthen his position he sought for alliance among the neighboring Mongol tribes, and even went the length of becoming a Mohammedan in the hope that by so doing he might the more readily enlist the sympathies of the followers of the Prophet. Distinctive faiths sit lightly on Orientals, and, though in earlier life he had visited Lhasa, and had formed a close alliance with the Dalai Lama, he now found no difficulty in professing to accept the Koran as his guide to heaven.

As soon as the news of these intrigues reached Peking, K'anghsi set his battalions in array, and appointed General Fei commander in chief (1695-1696). Circumstances had invested this campaign with peculiar importance, and to infuse enthusiasm into his army and officers K'anghsi held a high court ceremony at Peking which was intended to be as inspiriting as it was impressive. Surrounded by all the gorgeous trappings of the East, and, above all, in the midst of a crowd of officers of all ranks from the commander in chief down to the youngest subaltern—

"Aloft in awful state
The god-like hero sat
On his imperial throne."

So soon as the pageant was complete General Fei advanced and knelt before his sovereign, who, with his own hands, presented him with a cup of wine, which the warrior drank as a pledge of his loyalty, and as an omen of future success. In due accordance with their ranks, the other officers partook of a similar honor, and from the presence of their emperor marched to the head of their regiments. Upward of thirty thousand men followed Fei's banners, and these had scarcely left the capital when K'anghsi put into the field two more hosts of equal number, of one of which he took the command in person. Before leaving his capital he presented himself before his god at the Temple of Heaven, and there, in the center of the highest of the terraces which beautify those splendid precincts, he offered up a propitiatory prayer to Shangti, the supreme deity. "Receive my homage," he prayed, "and protect the humblest of your subjects, Sovereign Heaven, Supreme Ruler! With confidence but respect I invoke your aid in the war that I find myself compelled to undertake. You have already showered favors upon me. . . . I admit in silence and respect your benefits. . . . My most ardent desire has ever been to see the peoples of my empire, and even foreign nations, enjoy all the advantages of peace. Galdan destroys my dearest hopes; he sows disorder everywhere; he tramples underfoot your laws, and despises the commands of his Sovereign who holds your place here on earth; he is both the most false and the most wicked of men. . . . I hold from you the right to make war upon the wicked. In order to fulfill this duty I am about to march at the head of my troops. Prostrate before you, I implore your support, and I offer up his sacrifice animated with the hope of drawing down upon myself some of your most marked favors. But one vow I most resolutely formed, and that is to bestow the blessing of peace throughout the vast territory over which you have placed me."

The sought-for blessing was granted in full measure. As the Chinese armies approached Galdan's lairs he retreated before them, possibly in the hope that, like Napoleon's army before the retiring Russians, they would be reduced to defeat by cold and starvation. At last, however, he made up his mind to give battle, and victory was still hanging in the balance, when, by an ingenious though inhuman artifice, Fei turned the scales in his favor. He noticed that on a neighboring height a large crowd of apparently non-combatants stood watching the fight. Rightly assuming that these were the women and children of Galdan's soldiers, he opened a heavy fire upon them. The result was exactly that which he had anticipated. The Mongols, seeing their wives and children mowed down by the Chinese fire, broke their ranks and rushed to their protection. With well-directed energy Fei charged into the disordered host, and after a short struggle gained a complete and crushing victory. Galdan escaped from the field, but his career was over, and while yet the Chinese troops were preparing to follow in pursuit the news was brought in of his death. Toward the memory of the arch-traitor K'anghsi showed no consideration. He demanded the remains of his foe as well as the surrender of his son and daughter. With these pledges of his victory he returned to Peking. What dishonor was placed upon the bones of Galdan we are not told, but with rare generosity the Son of Heaven gave official rank to the son and an honorable marriage to the daughter. As the spoil of conquest he divided the territory lately ruled over by Galdan between himself and Tsi Wang, giving to this chieftain all the country to the west of the Altai Range, and keeping the eastern districts in his own hands.

The benevolent desire for peace expressed by K'anghsi at the Temple of Heaven was, however, denied fulfillment, and the Chinese armies had scarcely returned to Peking when Tsi Wang, waxing fat with conquests, developed all the restless proclivities of his late uncle. On the plea of giving a safe escort to his daughter, who was betrothed to a Tibetan grandee, he marched with six thousand men against Lhasa. With little or no opposition he presented himself before the walls of that city, and, having taken it, delivered it up to the predatory instincts of his followers. This raid was an equivalent to a declaration of war against China, Tibet being a dependency of that empire. For the third time, therefore, K'anghsi sent an army into Mongolia, and, though the campaign was long protracted, it ended in victory to his banners, and in the annihilation of Tsi Wang's forces. This much-wished-for consummation was reached in the year 1721, when K'anghsi celebrated his diamond jubilee on the completion of the sixtieth year of his reign, and formed a fitting climax to the gorgeous pageant with which that far-famed occasion was commemorated.

Not long after this manifestation of popular rejoicing, and before the enthusiasm of his subjects had died away, the great emperor who had ruled his vast possessions for more than sixty years became a guest on high in 1722. His illness was short, lasting only thirteen days, but was long enough to enable him to make arrangements for the administration of future affairs, and to appoint his fourth son, Yung Chêng, to succeed him on the throne. Few emperors have ruled the destinies of China as successfully as K'anghsi. He loved justice, and aimed at doing what appeared right in his eyes. He was learned in all the knowledge of his countrymen, and was a munificent patron of literature. He was himself an author, and his numerous writings both in prose and verse filled many portly volumes. Two works which were compiled at his instigation would alone be sufficient to make his name memorable in the annals of Chinese literature. The splendid dictionary of the language, which is known as "K'anghsi's Dictionary," is a monumental work, and was compiled at the order of the emperor by a commission of scholars especially appointed for the purpose. It has ever since been recognized as the standard dictionary of the language, and in the ordinary editions fills thirty-six volumes. The other, which owes its initiative to him, is the huge encyclopedia known as the *"Ch'inting t'ushu chi ch'êng,"* which issued from the press in five thousand and twenty volumes. The subjects included in this publication are divided into thirty-two grand categories, with countless subdivisions, each of which is illustrated by quotations from works of authority, arranged in chronological order, so that the student has placed before him in due succession the opinions of every native scholar of weight on the subject of his study. But K'angshi was also the author of the "Sixteen Maxims" which form part of the initial studies of every Chinese boy. These maxims were annotated and enlarged upon by his son and successor, Yungchêng, who considered himself at liberty, in the case of one maxim at least, to give a bias to K'anghsi's words, which probably was never intended by their author. "Avoid strange sects in order to exalt orthodox doctrines," wrote K'anghsi, and among these "strange sects" Yungchêng chose to include Roman Catholicism, and further warned his subjects to have no relations with the followers of the "Lord of Heaven," adding, for the information of the people, that the missionaries attached to the court at Peking owed their position entirely to their very useful knowledge of mathematics.

The support and favor accorded to the missionaries during the lifetime of K'anghsi, makes it improbable that he would have warned his people so pointedly against them, unless, indeed, he may have penned the words when vexed and perplexed by the unseemly quarrels which broke out in their ranks. It will be remembered that after the death of Ricci the arrival of Dominican and Franciscan missionaries gave rise to acute disputes and dissensions, the new arrivals considering that the earlier Jesuits had carried their principle of being tactful with all men to an extent which bordered on sacrilege. This cleavage between the Jesuits on the one hand and the Dominicans and Franciscans on the other was to a great extent national as well as religious, the Portuguese representing the Jesuits and the French and Italians their detractors. For some years the question between them took no public shape, but in 1645 a reference was made to the Propaganda, which was answered by a decree of Innocent X. One of the main questions put in this reference was "whether, in regard to the frailty of the people, it could be tolerated, for the present, that Christian magistrates should carry a cross hidden under the flowers which were presented at the heathen altars, and secretly worship that, while they were in outward form and appearance worshiping the idol." The answer was a direct negative, as it was also to the inquiry whether the presence of Christians in the temples of the idols, and their attendance at the worship and sacrifices, were to be sanctioned.

Though disappointed, the Jesuits were not crushed, and at a later date a second reference was made to the Propaganda, which met with a different response. The congregation under Alexander VII. upheld the views of the Jesuits on the matter in dispute. They drew a distinction between the political and religious rites of the people, and included among the former the worship of ancestors; and added "that Chinese converts should be permitted to perform the ceremonies toward the dead even with the unconverted, superstitious objects alone being prohibited; that they may also assist in their worship when they are performing superstitious rites, having protested their faith, and not being in peril of subversion, and when otherwise they could not avoid hatred and enmities."

The arrival in China of Bishop Maigrot added a new element of discord to the already divided bodies of missionaries. The bishop was a man with strong views, and though, as events proved, no match for the Jesuits, he was yet one who could express himself with force. In a decree which he issued on the questions in dispute, he forbade the use of the expressions "T'ien" and "Shangti" for God, and ordered that the Deity should always be spoken of as "T'ien Chu," or "Lord of Heaven," the term universally used among Roman Catholics. He condemned the questions proposed to Alexander VII. as not having been truthfully set forth, and he prohibited missionaries from being present at the festivals or sacrifices connected with heathen worship. K'anghsi, who still showed symptoms of being under the influence of the Jesuits, took umbrage at the appearance of this declaration, and summoned the bishop to an audience in the wilds of Tartary, whither he had gone on a hunting expedition. The bishop's knowledge of the country was slight, and of the language little or nothing. These imperfections were eagerly taken advantage of by the emperor, who, after the interview, thus wrote of his guest: "I have ordered Bishop Maigrot to come hither, that I might examine him. He knows a little Chinese, but cannot speak so as to be understood, he is consequently obliged to have an interpreter. Not only does he not understand the meaning of the books, but is even ignorant of the characters. A native who should show such ignorance would not dare to speak in public, and if he did so would move his hearers to laughter. Not understanding the sense of the books, he is not in a position to say what they contain, as he professes to do."

The inference thus drawn by the emperor, that the bishop's ignorance of the language rendered him incapable of forming a right judgment on the subject of the term for God, had considerable force. In the imperial mind, also, it was presumption on his part to offer an opinion on the question, inasmuch as the emperor had traced with his vermilion pencil a statement to the effect that *T'ien* was understood by the Chinese to be both the material Heaven and the Supreme God. These differences in China were reflected at Rome, and in the exercise of his wisdom Clement XI. appointed a legate to proceed to China to settle the differences between the contending missionaries. This appointment was a rock of offense to K'anghsi, who was annoyed at the idea of a visitor being appointed when he, the emperor, was there to superintend the conduct of the fathers. He, however, granted the legate, Charles Maillard de Tournon, an interview, and treated him with marked courtesy. During the audience Pereira, who was in attendance on the emperor, showed by a variety of approving gestures that the emperor's address had been dictated by himself, and that the entire scene had been got up rather as an exhibition of the influence of the father than as a complimentary recognition of the Pope or of his representative.

The legate soon found out that the friendly expressions used by K'anghsi at this interview were merely complimentary, and that an occult influence was being exercised against him. The emperor had promised him a house at Peking, and had prepared complimentary gifts for presentation to the Pope, but on one excuse or another the house was never conveyed and the gifts were never sent. The religious difficulties had, as we have seen, been productive of much mischief and dissension, but a further matter was destined to emphasize the quarrel. It came to the knowledge of the legate that the Jesuits were in the habit of lending money to the natives at a rate of interest which in Europe would be considered usurious, but which in China was less than the extreme legal rate. The Jesuits considered that they were moderate in charging twenty-four per cent., when native money-lenders were entitled to receive thirty-six, and from the source thus temperately utilized, it was affirmed that the three Jesuit houses at the capital derived an annual income of 180,000 taels. But this profit was "nothing in comparison with that which they drew from the commerce in manufactures, wines, clocks, and on other industries, by which these fathers amassed enormous treasures, which rendered them richer in the Indies than the King of Portugal." These statements induced the legate to take a strong step. He issued a solemn decree denouncing this practice of the Jesuits as being unworthy of Christians, and ordered them to suppress and annul all dealings of the kind.

An incident which occurred immediately on the promulgation of this decree led to a serious suspicion being entertained against the Jesuit fathers. After a solitary repast consisting of a stewed pigeon served up with broth and bread sauce, the legate was seized with a sudden and dangerous illness, which bore some resemblance to the effects of poison. So strained were the relations between the two sides in the controversy that the friends of the legate did not hesitate to express their belief that the fathers had attempted to rid themselves of the visitor by violent means. But whether this suspicion was well or ill founded, certain it is that the quarrel from this time became bitterly intensified. It is always easy to find Orientals ready and willing to bring charges against unpopular personages. The tide was now running against the legate, Bishop Maigrot, and their friends. It was natural, therefore, that Chinamen should lay indictments against them, and that, with considerable worldly wisdom, the disregard shown to the decision of the emperor with reference to the term for God, should be placed in the forefront of the indictment. For this misdemeanor Bishop Maigrot and his allies were summoned to Peking, and after the form of a trial judgment was pronounced against them by the emperor in person. The bishop and others were sentenced to be exiled from the empire as turbulent and disorderly men. No European was to be allowed to remain in China unless he had letters patent from his imperial majesty, and all coming after that date were to present themselves at Peking and to apply for the said letters.

The legate felt now that nothing he could say or do would mitigate either the wrath of the emperor or the enmity of the Jesuits. He therefore felt moved to issue a decree enjoining all the missionaries who should present themselves at Peking "to give a distinct negative on all the questions which formed the imperial test, to abjure all the rights and observances which the Chinese law enjoined, . . . and to declare the incompatibility of all these doctrines and practices with the Christian law." Irritated by this opposition to his will and decisions K'anghsi sent two Jesuits to Rome to represent to the Pope the unfortunate position to which the quarrels of the missionaries had reduced the affairs of the mission. Meanwhile, he banished the legate to Macao, there to await the return of the envoys. On arriving at his destination De Tournon was virtually put under arrest. His house was surrounded by a guard of soldiers, who allowed no one to pass except those who carried the authorization of the Portuguese governor. Even food was admitted with difficulty, and his condition was aggravated by mental anxiety as to the result of the emperor's reference to Rome. Under this cruel persecution his health broke down, and in 1710 death released him from the ill-will of his enemies. That the Jesuits conferred great advantages on the Chinese it cannot be denied. As engineers, architects, and surveyors they did much useful work, and by the books which they translated they opened a door for the admittance of Western learning into the schools of the country. Gerbillon and Bouvet translated Euclid and other mathematical works, Thomas taught the people algebra, Brocart instructed them in the arts, and Pereira in music. Men learned in all the knowledge of the West gave up home and country for the good of the people; while scientists of the first rank thought it not degrading to mend clocks and make musical boxes for the emperor and his mandarins. But to the cause of religion the dissensions raised by their zeal did infinite harm, and exposed the fathers to the taunt of K'anghsi, that instead of propagating the faith in China, they were ruining it.

Chapter IV

THE REIGNS OF YUNGCHÊNG AND CH'IENLUNG.

1722-1796

THE son to whom the imperial purple had descended was the fourth among K'anghsi's numerous progeny. He was a man of fine bearing and good abilities. As his father said of him, "Yungchêng is a man of rare and precious character," and, with perhaps pardonable pride, he added, "he has a great resemblance to myself." The new emperor was forty-four years of age when he ascended the throne, and his first care was to remove beyond the reach of temptation those of his brothers whom he considered to be politically dangerous. The fourteenth prince, who at this time held a command in Central Asia, was first attacked, as being the most prominent possible aspirant to the throne. He was therefore ordered to Peking, where, with his son, he was imprisoned in the garden of "Perpetual Spring." On other princes various kinds of repression were exercised, and one was banished to Hsining on the western frontier, where he, together with his brothers, embraced Christianity. The conversion of these banished members of his family added fuel to Yungchêng's wrath against them, and resulted in a sentence of perpetual banishment on all members of that section of the imperial clan.

The new emperor's attitude toward Christianity chimed in so naturally with the feelings of the *Literati* that it was plain that the new faith had fallen on evil days. A largely and influentially signed memorial was presented to the emperor, calling upon him to banish all foreign priests from the empire, and to permit the conversion of their churches to other and "better" uses. In accordance with the usual practice this memorial was referred to the board of rites, who recommended that all missionaries except those in the service of the emperor should be sent to Macao, and should be forbidden, on pain of death, to make any attempt to proselytize. As a result of the measures thus recommended and approved, upward of three hundred churches were destroyed, and over three hundred thousand converts were left spiritual orphans.

The political horizon meanwhile was no clearer than the religious one. The Mongols, who had kept K'anghsi in a perpetual state of warfare, again gave evidence of their turbulent disposition, and a formidable rebellion broke out in the district of Chinghai. The duty of suppressing this revolt was intrusted to General Nien, who so well played his part that the rebels were severely punished and offered their submission, pleading with every appearance of sincerity to be allowed once more to live under the benign rule of the emperor. For this service Nien was made a duke, and was fêted by Yungchêng on his return to Peking. On the occasion of this feast Nien's officers were entertained in the outer courtyard of the palace, while he alone was admitted into the imperial presence. Intoxicated by their success, his officers, in the enjoyment of the feast, so far forgot their respect for their surroundings as to become riotous in their cups. The emperor repeatedly sent out to enjoin silence, and, on his orders being disregarded, his guest, jealous of the credit of his men, blew the whistle with which he had been accustomed to guide his troops to victory on the fields of battle. The effect was instantaneous. The riot ceased as by magic, and not a voice was heard. Yungchêng was greatly alarmed at this evidence of the influence which Nien had acquired over his staff, and seeing that where he was impotent Nien was all powerful, he felt that the existence of so strong a leader might constitute a danger to the state. It is possible, also, that the consciousness of his might may have made Nien self-asserting in the presence of his sovereign. At all events the decree went forth that he was to be crushed; and instantly memorials were presented to the throne accusing the successful general of not having even been in Chinghai, the reported scene of his triumphs, but of having amused himself at a safe distance from the field where his soldiers were facing the enemy. It was further roundly asserted that he had adopted the emblems and insignia of royalty; that he had worn robes which none other than the emperor should wear; and that he had ordered the streets of towns and cities through which he had passed to be cleared before him. Bribery and corruption on a gigantic scale were also laid to his charge, and the man who was yesterday an all-powerful general was next day cast into prison, and after a brief trial was sentenced to be sliced to pieces. Humanity, however, induced the emperor to mitigate this barbarous sentence, and the fallen victim was allowed by imperial clemency to strangle himself in his prison cell.

All this time the tide had been flowing steadily against the Christians, and even the arrival of foreign embassies, instead of giving them a much-needed support, gained for them nothing but disaster. In 1727 Count Sava Vladislavitche arrived at Peking at the head of a mission from the czar, and was especially deputed to arrange with the Chinese court a revision of the Treaty of Nerchinsk. Two events made this mission noticeable. One was the fact that it served to establish a permanent Russian footing in Peking in the persons, firstly of a number of youths who were destined by their imperial master for the study of Chinese; and secondly, of persons of authority over the students on whom were conferred certain plenipotentiary powers, which enabled them when occasion required to act as diplomatic agents at the Chinese capital. The other was an incident which occurred when Count Sava presented his credentials. Up to this time all foreigners to whom imperial audiences had been granted had been bidden to deposit their credentials on a table placed in front of the emperor. Deeming this form to be derogatory, Count Sava overlooked the table and placed the documents in the hands of his Majesty. A little later in the course of the same year a Portuguese mission arrived at Peking, and Don Metello Souza y Menzès, the envoy, having heard of the action of his Russian colleague, and desiring to emulate it, informed the court officials that it was unnecessary to place a table in front of his Majesty as he intended to hand his credentials to him *in propia persona.* At this avowal the court dignitaries were much disturbed, and accused the Jesuits, who had interpreted for Count Sava, of having prompted the Portuguese to follow his example. The emperor, however, took a more reasonable view of the question, and gave Don Metello Souza permission to follow the course which he proposed.

In the difficulties which these and other circumstances had brought upon them, the Jesuits deemed it wise to ask leave to appear by deputation before the emperor. Their request was granted, but without listening to their representations his Majesty addressed them in a speech especially prepared for the occasion, and which at least displayed an intimate knowledge of the missionaries and their doings. "The late emperor my father," he said, "after having instructed me during forty years, chose me . . . to succeed him on the throne. I make it one of my first objects to imitate him, and to depart in nothing from his manner of government. . . . You tell me that your law is not a false one. I believe you; if I thought that it was false what would prevent me from destroying your churches and from driving you out of the country? . . . But what would you say if I were to send a troop of bonzes and lamas into your country in order to preach their doctrines? How would you receive them? . . . You wish that all the Chinese should become Christians, and indeed your creed commands it. I am well aware of this, but in that event what would become of us? Should we not soon be merely the subjects of your kings? The converts you have made already recognize nobody but you, and in a time of trouble they would listen to no other voice but yours. . . . I permit you to reside here, and at Canton, so long as you give no cause for complaint; but if any should arise, I will not allow you to remain here or at Canton. I will have none of you in the provinces. The emperor my father suffered much in reputation among the *Literati* by the condescension with which he allowed you to establish yourselves. . . . Do not imagine, in conclusion, that I have nothing against you, or on the other hand that I wish to oppress you. . . . My sole care is to govern the empire well."

It will be observed that in this speech the emperor dwelt especially on those points which have ever since formed the bones of contention between the missionaries and the ruling powers in China. It is beyond question that the missionaries, in their righteous zeal, have often unduly interfered on behalf of their converts in the native courts. This applies to both Roman Catholics and Protestants, though it must be confessed that the Roman Catholic fathers have insisted on protecting the interests and rights of their converts in a more open and vigorous manner than their Protestant brethren have ever attempted.

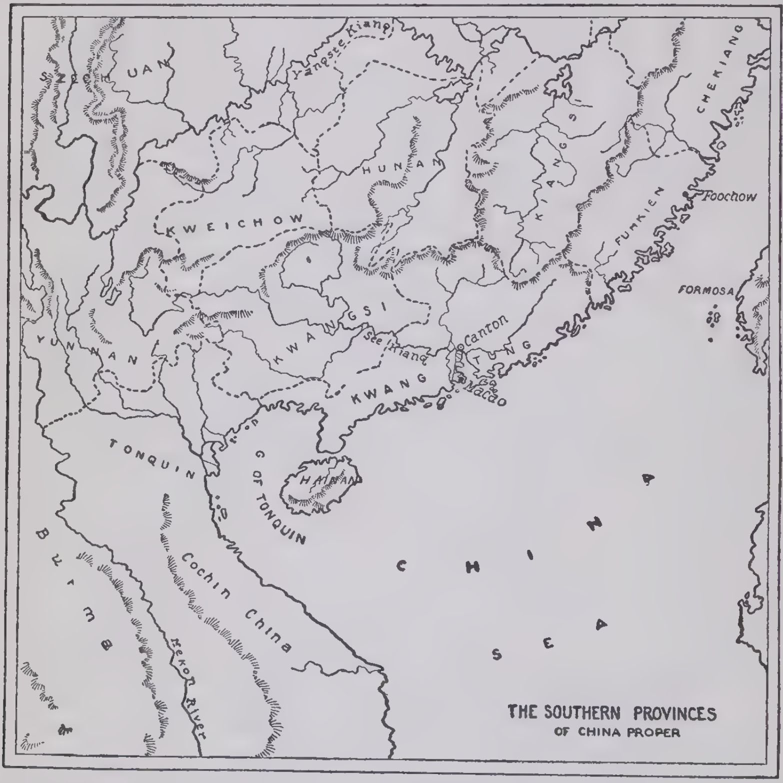
There is a natural disposition in men who are persecuted for their religion's sake to regard any misfortunes which happen to overtake their persecutors as being specially designed by Heaven to avenge their wrongs. Deprived of their political privileges, and of the court favor in which they had so long basked, the Jesuits found some consolation in the indulgence of this weakness of humanity. And truth to tell, they had many occasions for the gratification of this consoling reflection. Pestilence, floods, and earthquakes dogged the steps of the repressive emperor. Death was rife within the palace, whole districts in the northern portion of the empire were flooded by the bursting of the banks of " China's Sorrow," the Yellow River, and, as if to emphasize the special iniquity of the imperial court, Peking was shaken to its very foundations by an earthquake in 1730, which is said to have destroyed upward of a hundred thousand people, while Providence, which seems to have been guided by the same instinct which directed the allies when they destroyed the Palace of Yuan-ming-yuan in 1860, caused the earthquake to inflict overwhelming havoc on the same imperial buildings. About the same time riots broke out at Canton, and the whole empire appeared to be tottering on the verge of a catastrophe.

In China, as in England and the United States, there has always been a party advocating withdrawal from conquests beyond the national frontier. K'anghsi and later again Ch'ienlung with truer insight had seen that the only way of establishing peace on the Mongolian frontier was to overawe that indestructible element of disloyalty and violence which had always to be reckoned with when Mongols were concerned. Yungchêng, however, failed to realize this, and, accepting the advice of his councilors, withdrew his army from beyond the northern frontier. Happily for the empire but a short time was allowed for the ill effects of this experiment to develop themselves, for on October 7, 1735, the stroke of fate fell upon the emperor. Early in the day he had granted the usual audiences, and was almost immediately afterward seized with a sudden illness which ended his career on the same evening. Yungchêng was not a popular sovereign, although he possessed that quality which is more highly esteemed than any other by the Chinese: the love of literature. He was a voluminous writer, but it is to be regretted that throughout all his works there is noticeable a strong anti-foreign feeling, which is happily wanting in the writings of both his predecessor and successor. His death was so sudden that he was unable to nominate his heir, and, as is usual in such cases, his eldest son, who adopted the title of Ch'ienlung, ascended the throne.

Ch'ienlung succeeded his father at the age of twenty-five, and with an engaging modesty which is unusual in the case of " Sons of Heaven," he appointed four regents to guide and direct his faltering steps in the administration of the empire. His first exercise of imperial power was in the direction of that quality which blesses those who give and those who take. He released the brothers of his late father from the confinement to which Yungchêng in his jealous fear had consigned them, and opened the prison doors to many casual offenders. The founder of the dynasty had divided the members of his family into two branches, distinguished by the color of their girdles or belts. To himself and his direct heirs he reserved the use of the yellow girdle, while the collateral branches were entitled only to wear one of a red color. The princes who had fallen under the displeasure of Yungchêng had been deprived at their fall of their right to either of these distinctions, but the restoration to favor accorded them by Ch'ienlung restored to them the privilege of again wearing the girdle of their great ancestor.

The missionaries were not so fortunate as these scions of the imperial race, since, though Ch'ienlung at that time showed no personal animus against them, the regents to a man were their bitter opponents. At the instigation of these potentates an edict was issued forbidding the missionaries to propagate their faith, and directing them to prosecute with all humbleness the mechanical callings in which they had shown themselves proficient. The province of Fuhkien has always been a troublesome one so far as foreigners are concerned. Some of the greatest outrages that the Jesuits had to submit to occurred in this province, and a long series of enormities has since been perpetrated within the district, ending in the last wholesale murder of English missionaries in 1895. In 1746 persecutions of a particularly savage nature broke out in Fuhkien. Several Spanish missionaries were imprisoned and tortured, while those who attempted to shield them from their enemies were strangled in spite of the intercession of the Jesuits at Peking. The unhappy prisoners were only released from their miseries by the sword of the executioner.

Meanwhile a rebellion broke out in southwestern China and spread to the provinces of Hunan and Kwangsi. As has so often happened in Chinese campaigns, the generals who had been intrusted with the suppression of this revolt had so mismanaged matters that the imperial troops could make no headway against the rebels. The Chinese have a rough-and-ready way of dealing with men, who, either from their own fault or by some mischance, are unlucky enough to meet with disaster. A short shrift and a sharp sword is commonly their fate, unless the prisoner should happen to be personally in high favor, when a silken cord is sent to him. In this case such a lot was meted out to the unsuccessful leaders, and a certain General Chang Kwang was appointed in their place. The new general justified his appointment. In a short time he subjugated the rebels and pacified the disturbed districts. If we are to believe the native historians we must accept the facts that he slaughtered in the field eighteen thousand of the enemy, and sent to execution almost as many prisoners. Shortly afterward an insurrection broke out in the province of Szech'uan, and Chang Kwang again took the field. But success no longer waited on his footsteps. He was surrounded by the enemy's spies, so that the words which he spake in his bedchamber were told to the chiefs of the rebels. In this way all his plans were forestalled, and to him was decreed a like fate to that which had overtaken the generals



THE SOUTHERN PROVINCES
OF CHINA PROPER

whom he had superseded. His successor, General Fu, was more successful, and recovered the revolted province to his master's rule. The tender mercies of Chinese victors are almost invariably cruel, and Ch'ienlung was in no melting mood when the captured rebel chief and his family were brought before him. Following the traditional usage adopted toward hardened rebels, he passed sentence of Lingch'ih [1] upon them all, with the exception of one little girl, who was transferred to the palace.

For the first ten years of Chi'enlung's reign the chieftain Tsêning had ruled over the Mongols in peace and quiet. His death, however, in 1745 let loose all the elements of violence which he had hitherto been able to hold in check. After some disturbance and many acts of violence, one of the sons of the late chieftain, Dardsha by name, assumed the reins of power, but his supremacy was not long left undisputed. A restless relative named Davatsi, with an ally as truculent as himself in the person of Amursana, a neighboring chief, took the field against him. The fortunes of war are always uncertain, and in border warfare they can seldom be counted on with surety. In this instance success passed now to one side and now to the other with perplexing fickleness. To follow the fortunes of each army would be as difficult as it would be unprofitable, but in the end Dardsha was defeated and slain, leaving to the allies the possession of his territory. "When thieves fall out honest men come to their dues," and in this case the quarrel which sprung up between the two allies resulted eventually in Ch'ienlung recovering the possessions which his father had so weakly receded from. The war which raged between the two usurpers ended in the defeat of Amursana, who fled to Peking desiring to enlist the sympathies of Ch'ienlung on his behalf. The fugitive was received with honor and an army was sent to chastise Davatsi. At the conclusion of the campaign Amursana was left in the recovered territory as the representative of Ch'ienlung, but with the consistent faithlessness of a Mongol, he no sooner found himself in the possession of an inch of power than he took an ell.

The news of his unauthorized assumption of monarchical rights having reached Ch'ienlung's ears, the deputy was ordered to Peking to answer for his conduct. His reply was in keeping with his character. He put to the sword the small Chinese garrison left with him, and prepared for war. Nor had he long to wait. Ch'ienlung at once mustered his battalions and issued a manifesto to the empire explaining the call to arms. In his document he said with pardonable pride: "My empire is larger than any in the world; it is more populous; it is richer. My coffers overflow with silver, and my granaries are full of all kinds of provisions." After this exordium he explained the cause of the quarrel, and justified to his entire satisfaction the course which he was about to take. For Amursana's treachery he had no words of condemnation strong enough, and as for the archtraitor himself, he was to be regarded "as a wolf" which flies at the approach of an enemy and has to be hunted down as vermin. Strict orders were given that the rebel was to be brought to Peking dead or alive, and Generals Chao Huei and Fu were commissioned to lead their troops to the attack. Ch'ienlung's description of the rebel's tactics was true to the letter. Amursana instinctively avoided general engagements, and, when worsted in skirmishes, rode off with as many of his men as could follow him to fresh woods and pastures new. General Fu, who was specially deputed to follow on his tracks, hunted him down with ceaseless pertinacity. Eventually, deserted by his followers and discredited as a chieftain, Amursana fled for refuge to Russian territory and implored the protection of the czar. Here he was safe from his human pursuers, but unconsciously he had walked into the jaws of death. A violent epidemic of smallpox was desolating the country at the time, and to that dreadful disease he speedily fell a victim. On receiving the news of his death General Fu demanded his body, that Ch'ienlung might have the gratification of gazing on the remains of his adversary. To this the Russians very naturally declined to accede, but invited Fu to send messengers to identify the features of the rebel.

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[1] The "lingering process" or punishment by slicing to death. Usually inflicted on parricides.

The brilliant success which had attended the Chinese generals left them dissatisfied so long as eastern Turkistan remained as a possible hotbed of discontent on their western frontier. Chao, therefore, determined to move against Kashgar and Yarkand, and in the first instance dispatched a certain General Ma at the head of the invading force. Ma blundered in the execution of his task, and met with more than one serious reverse. As we have seen, there is only one rule in China for the treatment of unsuccessful generals. In this case it was not departed from, and Ma being beheaded, Chao took the matter into his own hands. The impetus given to the campaign by his skill and energy was such that before long he was able to report to his sovereign the capture of both the objects of his attack. The prestige thus acquired by the Chinese arms so impressed the ruler of Khokand that he immediately made his submission to the "Son of Heaven," an example which was followed by several of the neighboring chiefs. As the victors entered the city of Kashgar the inhabitants, as we learn by a letter from General Chao to Ch'ienlung in 1759, surrendered with every demonstration of joy. They lavished refreshments on the troops and covered the generals with honor. As the procession advanced the people threw themselves on their knees and cried aloud, "Long live the great emperor of China!"

Having established some form of administration in the conquered provinces, Chao and Fu returned to Peking to receive the rewards of their services. As they approached the capital Ch'ienlung went out half a day's journey to meet them, and graciously placed palaces within the city at their disposal. Chao was raised to the highest rank of nobility, and Fu to that of the next grade. Chao, who was already advanced in years, remained at Peking until his death, resting on his laurels, and eventually died in the odor of court favor. It is said that after his decease the emperor visited him and in support of a strange fiction directed that the dead man should be seated in a chair as though still alive. "I command you to remain as you are," said the monarch. "I come to see you for the purpose of exhorting you to leave nothing undone towards the reëstablishment of your health. A man like you is still necessary to the empire."

But though war's alarms were frequent during the reign of Ch'ienlung peaceful celebrations were mingled with the echoes of distant strife. Nearer home the prosperity of the country advanced by leaps and by bounds, and the favor of Heaven was reflected in the well-being of the imperial family. An interesting ceremony took place in the year 1752 when the dowager empress attained her sixtieth year. The whole route from Yuan-ming-yuan, some seven miles from Peking, to the imperial palace within the city walls, was made one long festive pageant, while the sides of the road were lined with extempore pavilions and theaters, where musicians and actors did their utmost to add harmony and amusement to the scene. It had been originally intended that the imperial *cortège* should have been carried in barges along the course of the river to the city walls, and though the season was winter, when in the ordinary course everything is hard bound with frost, every effort was made to keep the river open. But the attempt failed and sleighs were substituted. Within the city walls the decorations were even more elaborately planned. Artificial mountains were raised with Buddhist temples and monasteries dotting their sides, arcades and restaurants bordered the streets, while for the amusement of the imperial party children dressed as monkeys climbed artificial trees and gathered with a variety of grimace every kind of artificial fruit. At other places gigantic pears and apples opened at intervals displaying children in their hollow interiors. Never was there a more gorgeous scene, but it was robbed of more than half its value and significance by the law which obliges, on such occasions, the inhabitants of the neighborhood to remain indoors with closed shutters to prevent their gazing on the dragon countenance. Like Louis II. of Bavaria, who was wont to form the solitary spectator of theatrical performances in the royal theater in Munich, the emperors of China are accustomed to traverse the streets of their capital unseen by those who have prepared for their delight the decorations of the streets and buildings.

As interludes between the higher duties of state, the artistic labors of the Jesuits, Castiglione and Attiret, formed an endless source of interest and amusement to the emperor, and he was even induced by the excellence of their painting to honor Attiret by sitting for his portrait. So delighted was he with the result that he was minded to confer on the artist the high distinction of a mandarin's button. This honor, however, Attiret declined with many expressions of gratitude, but he and others continued to devote themselves to amusing and astonishing the emperor by all kinds of mechanical contrivances without reward or recompense. In the construction of one piece of mechanism they surpassed themselves. With much elaborate and ornate detail they constructed a clock representing a courtyard, from the pavilion in which, at the stroke of the hour, the figure of a mandarin advanced carrying a banner bearing the words, "Long live the emperor!" As the automaton bowed low, four attendants appeared who, with short batons, beat out a chime representing the particular time of the day. The Chinese have always had a taste for this kind of mechanical contrivance, and when the allies took possession of the Summer Palace in 1860 a number of clocks of a construction similar to that just described were found among the imperial treasures.

At this time Ch'ienlung may be said to have reached the zenith of his power, and to have extended his fame throughout the length and breadth of Asia. A notable instance of the confidence which was reposed in his rule is afforded by one of the strangest migrations which even the East with its manifold caprices has ever witnessed. While the tribes on the Mongol frontier had been in a state of ferment the Tourgots, under the leadership of their chief Ayuka, fled from the ever-recurring turmoil across the steppes of the Kirghez into Russian territory. At first their sudden incursion caused the governor of Orenburg some alarm, but on becoming better informed as to its cause and object, he placed at the disposal of the wanderers a fertile territory lying between the Volga and the Yaik. Here they remained, pursuing their avocations for half a century, not without some provocation from their new government, but in the enjoyment of a tranquillity which, compared with their former harassed existence, was as a haven of rest. It is true that the Russian drill sergeants decimated their young men for the service of the czar, and that taxes were levied upon them such as in their more primitive state of society had been entirely unknown. But these were grievances to which, so long as their former habitat remained the scene of constant strife, they were content to submit. After the defeat and death of Amursana, however, and the complete pacification of the districts over which he had been in the habit of raiding, the Tourgots turned their eyes toward the lands where they had originally dwelt, and desired to offer their submission to the "Son of Heaven," who had been instrumental in producing order out of chaos. Having satisfied themselves that their reappearance within the Chinese frontier would be welcomed as a return to their fold, they made preparation in all secrecy for their return march across the dreary deserts of central Asia. Early in 1771 the Tourgot men, women, and children, to the number of 600,000, started on their ill-starred journey in the direction of their ancient home.

The choice of winter for this great adventure was directed by the fact that their settlements were situated on both sides of the River Volga, and that it was thus necessary to wait until a frozen surface should afford a means by which the western portion might at any moment join their *confrères* on the eastern shore. Absolute secrecy was observed by the khan and his colleagues as to their intentions, and the ignorance of the Russian Government on the point was preserved and heightened by the apparent zeal with which the Tourgots offered themselves for military service under the banners of the czaritza in the war in which the empire was engaged against the Turk. It was proposed by the khan and his confederates that on a signal being given, the settlers should set fire to their dwellings and crops, and, if possible, include in the conflagration the neighboring Russian cities and villages.

When the momentous day arrived, and the signal was given, the western settlers, alarmed by the presence of Russian troopers, who were, by a strange accident, in their neighborhood, refused to move, and by this coincidence not only were the Russian riverine towns saved from destruction, but the amount of misery entailed by the march was lessened by one-half. As one person, the men, women, and children dwelling on the eastern bank moved eastward at the bidding of the khan. The first stage of three hundred miles was covered in seven days with the aid of horses and camels. But already the Cossacks were following at the heels of the fugitives, and one division of the huge crowd of wanderers was cut to pieces by these merciless pursuers. Harassed by their enemies and tortured by famine, thirst, and disease, the Tourgots, in spite of every obstacle, pushed on toward their goal. For eight months they marched through the steppes and deserts of Asia, and the small remnant were rejoiced at the end of that time to reënter the Chinese frontier on the shores of the Lake of Tengis. To this point Ch'ienlung had dispatched a force of cavalry to receive the wanderers, of whose approach he had been apprised. One morning the Celestial troopers "reached the summit of a road which led through a cradle-like dip in the mountains right down upon the margin of the lake. From this pass, elevated about two thousand feet above the level of the water, they continued to descend, by a very winding and difficult road, for an hour and a half; and during the whole of this descent they were compelled to be inactive spectators of the fiendish spectacle below. The Kalmucks (Tourgots), reduced by this time from about six hundred thousand souls to two hundred thousand, and after enduring the miseries we have previously described—outrageous heat, famine, and the destroying scimiter of the Kirghizes and the Bashkirs—had for the last ten days been traversing a hideous desert, where no vestiges were seen of vegetation and no drop of water could be found. Camels and men were already so overladen that it was a mere impossibility that they should carry a tolerable sufficiency for the passage of this frightful wilderness. On the eighth day, the wretched daily allowance, which had been continually diminishing, failed entirely; and thus, for two days of insupportable fatigue, the horrors of thirst had been carried to the fiercest extremity. Upon this last morning, at the sight of the hills and the forest scenery, which announced to those who acted as guides the neighborhood of the Lake of Tengis, all the people rushed along with maddening eagerness to the anticipated solace. The day grew hotter and hotter, the people more and more exhausted; and gradually in the general rush forward to the lake, all discipline and command were lost—all attempts to preserve a rearguard were neglected. The wild Bashkirs rode in among the encumbered people and slaughtered them wholesale, and almost without resistance. Screams and tumultuous shouts proclaimed the progress of the massacre; but none heeded, none halted; all alike, pauper or noble, continued to rush with maniacal haste to the waters—all with faces blackened with the heat preying upon the liver and with tongue drooping from the mouth. The cruel Bashkir was affected by the same misery, and manifested the same symptoms of his misery as the wretched Kalmuck. The murderer was oftentimes in the same frantic misery as his murdered victim. Many, indeed in both nations, had become lunatic (an ordinary effect of thirst); and, in this state, while mere multitude and condensation of bodies alone opposed any check to the destroying scimiter and the trampling hoof, the lake was reached; and to that the whole vast body of enemies rushed, and together continued to rush, forgetful of all things at that moment but of one almighty instinct. This absorption of the thoughts in one maddening appetite lasted for a single minute; but in the next arose the final scene of parting vengeance. Far and wide the waters of the solitary lake were instantly dyed red with blood and gore. Here rode a party of savage Bashkirs, hewing off heads as fast as the swaths fall before the mower's scythe; there stood unarmed Kalmucks in a death-grapple with their detested foes, both up to the middle in water, and oftentimes both sinking together below the surface, from weakness or from struggles, and perishing in each other's arms. Did the Bashkirs at any point collect in a cluster for the sake of giving impetus to the assault, thither were the camels driven in fiercely by those who rode them, generally women and boys; and even these quiet creatures were forced into a share in this carnival of murder by trampling down as many as they could strike prostrate with the lash of their forelegs. Every moment the water grew more polluted; and yet every moment fresh myriads came up to the lake and rushed in, not able to resist their frantic thirst, and swallowing large draughts of water, visibly contaminated with the blood of their slaughtered compatriots. Wheresoever the lake was shallow enough to allow of men raising their heads above the water, there, for scores of acres, were to be seen all forms of ghastly fear, of agonizing struggle, of spasm, of convulsion, of mortal conflict—death, and the fear of death—revenge, and the lunacy of revenge—hatred, and the frenzy of hatred—until the neutral spectators, of whom there were not a few, now descending the eastern side of the lake, at length averted their eyes in horror. This horror, which seemed incapable of further addition was, however, increased by an unexpected incident. The Bashkirs, beginning to perceive here and there the approach of the Chinese cavalry, felt it prudent, wheresoever they were sufficiently at leisure from the passions of the murderous scene, to gather into bodies. This was noticed by the governor of a small Chinese fort built upon an eminence above the lake, and immediately he threw in a broadside which spread havoc among the Bashkir tribe. As often as the Bashkirs collected into " globes " and " turms " as their only means of meeting the long line of descending Chinese cavalry, so often did the Chinese governor of the fort pour his exterminating broadside, until at length the lake, at the lower end, became one vast seething caldron of human bloodshed and carnage. The Chinese cavalry had reached the foot of the hills; the Bashkirs, attentive to their movements, had formed; skirmishes had been fought; and with a quick sense that the contest was henceforward rapidly becoming hopeless, the Bashkirs and Kirghizes began to retire. The pursuit was not as vigorous as the Kalmuck hatred would have desired; but, at the same time, the very gloomiest hatred could not but find, in their own dreadful experience of the Asiatic deserts, and in the certainty that these wretched Bashkirs had to repeat that same experience a second time, for thousands of miles, as the price exacted by a retributary Providence for their vindictive cruelty, not the very gloomiest of the Kalmucks or the least reflecting, but found in all this a retaliatory chastisement more complete and absolute than any which their swords and lances could have obtained, or human vengeance could have devised." [2]

With merciful foresight Ch'ienlung provided food and garments for the wretched remainder of the wanderers that had reached his frontier. Lands were also placed at their disposal, and on the shores of the lake a pillar was raised to commemorate the hardships endured, and the engagements fought on this great and notable march.

But while peace and quiet were established on the northern frontiers of the empire, the relations with Burma had become strained to the point of war. The histories do not describe clearly the causes of the rupture between the two countries. In Oriental states there are constantly occurring causes of hostility, and the probability is that incursions of Burmese marauders may have taxed the patience of the Chinese to breaking point. But, however that may be, certain it is that in 1768 Ch'ienlung ordered his troops to take the field. At first success attended the Chinese arms. The Burmese, who had rashly invaded the province of Yunnan, were completely defeated, and were compelled to retreat across the frontier. Flushed with victory the Chinese general followed in pursuit, and again inflicted defeat on the Burmese within their own territory. But no one who has traversed the mountain ranges which separate western China from Burma will be surprised to hear that the difficulty of getting provisions from China considerably hampered the movements of the Celestials. Meanwhile the Burmese had summoned every available man to their standards, and had marched with overwhelming numbers against the invaders. Destitute of supplies and surrounded by the enemy the Chinese position was desperate. In a moment of despair the general ordered a *sauve qui peut,* and only those few who were not slain by the victorious Burmese escaped through the mountain passes to China.

On receipt of the news of this disaster Ch'ienlung ordered Generals Alikun and Akwei to take command of another army to avenge the defeat. Again the Chinese troops crossed the dizzy heights which separate the two empires and established themselves in a fortified camp at Bhamo. Starting from this *point d'appui,* Alikun at the head of a considerable force marched toward the capital. At his approach the King of Burma lost heart, and though possessed of forces which might well have opposed successfully the advance of the Chinese troops, he proposed terms of peace. Alikun, nothing loath, being in the face of a numerically superior army, and with ranges of mountains and narrow defiles in the rear, readily agreed to discuss a treaty of alliance. It cannot be denied that as diplomatists the Chinese are not to be surpassed, and though on the present occasion at a disadvantage in the field, Alikun succeeded in completely overreaching the Burmese ministers in conclave. By the terms of the treaty which was then signed, perpetual peace was proclaimed between the two empires, and the king agreed to pay a triennial tribute to the court of Peking. The tribute then provided for was regularly paid up to the time of Great Britain's taking possession of Upper Burma, and even afterward, for believing in the power of China, and the importance of her alliance, England agreed that the tribute should still continue to be paid by the highest Burmese authority in the country. The leading principle of British policy in China since the war of 1842 has been to establish by every art and form the equality of its government with that of Peking. By this mistaken step, however, the English became generally recognized as tributaries of China, and Lord Macartney, the first British envoy to China in 1792, was made to carry on the boat which bore him to Peking a flag with the inscription, "Tribute-Bearers to the Imperial Court." Peace was no sooner secured on the southwestern frontier than disturbances broke out among the Miaotzŭ tribes on the borders of Szech'uan. The Miaotzŭ are an interesting people, and are the descendants of one of the aboriginal tribes who inhabited China before the advent of the Chinese. As the primitive Chinese settlers advanced over the country and possessed themselves of the plains and valleys, the aboriginal tribes were driven to take refuge in the mountain ranges of western and southwestern China. These dispossessed tribes have never been entirely subdued, and the Chinese with that tolerance which in some regard characterizes their government, have refrained from interfering with the internal affairs of the mountaineers, unless compelled to do so by aggression on their part. The Miaotzŭ, who are by nature joyous and independent, have thus followed their own customs, and have preserved their form of civilization in entire independence of the more cultured people by whom they are surrounded. In the mountain valleys where they dwell they still preserve old-world customs, which are found only in the most backward portions of the earth's surface.

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[2] De Quincey, "The Flight of a Tartar Tribe."

A MIAOTZŬ FAMILY DESCENDING A MOUNTAIN TRACK INTO THE VALLEY OF THEIR HOMES

Painting by W. Small

That strange custom of couvade still exists among them, and their marriage customs carry us back to the time when the world was indeed young. Small in stature and badly armed, they can never have been a match for Chinese soldiers; but like the Afridis of the northwest frontier of India, their true strength lay in the intricate and difficult nature of the country which they inhabited.

At various times wars have broken out between these people and their Chinese neighbors, and so far as it is possible to judge, the outrages which have led up to these hostilities have as often been committed by one side as the other. A few skirmishes on the Szech'uan frontier led on this occasion to a war which was intended to be one of extermination. In these engagements the Miaotzŭ were generally successful, and in ordinary circumstances it may well have been that a peace would have been patched up between the disputants. But Ch'ienlung had been long fed on victory, and his troops by constant warfare had reached a high standard of combativeness and efficiency. He was unwilling therefore to submit to defeat at the hands of the Miao barbarians, and made immediate preparations for the dispatch of a punitive expedition. But being ready to give the rebels one more chance of repentance, he, before sending an army into the field, dispatched two envoys to the rebellious tribes bearing an imperial letter offering terms of peace. The chief, however, flushed with victory, and barbarously unmindful of the hospitality due to plenipotentiaries, murdered the two envoys, and scattered the letter of peace to the four winds of heaven. The die was now cast, and a strong force was at once sent to punish the recalcitrant rebels. The chief command of this army was given to General Wên Fu, with Akwei and Feng Shênê as lieutenant-generals. The emperor's orders were stringent. The two fortified camps of the enemy were to be captured at all costs and an iron heel was to be placed on the necks of the rebels. The district over which the army had to deploy was mountainous in the extreme. The roads were nothing more than mountain tracks, and except in some places where suspension bridges crossed the rivers, passages across the torrents had to be made in skin boats. The three generals at the head of as many separate forces converged by different ways on the Golden River district. General Wên Fu, at the head of ten thousand men, took the main route, and having arrived within striking distance of the enemy, fortified himself in an entrenched camp. Like many Chinese generals, he seems to have been of the opinion that the presence of his master's big battalions and the sight of a forest of flags would strike terror into the hearts of the hillmen. But he was mistaken. He had no sooner established himself than he was rudely awakened by a sudden and furious onslaught of the enemy. The attack was so unexpected, and the manner of warfare was so little understood by the Chinese officers and men, that hardly any show of resistance was made, and the invaders were cut down like grass before the scythe. General Wên Fu was killed and only a small remnant of his force succeeded in effecting a junction with the other detachments.

The news of this disaster reached Ch'ienlung as he was enjoying his ease at Jehol, his hunting palace in Mongolia. Without a moment's delay he called together a council, by whose advice he promoted Akwei to the supreme command, and ordered him to prosecute the war with all dispatch. Akwei lost no time in obeying these orders, and after a battle which lasted five days and five nights, so completely defeated the Miaotzŭ that they came forward with humble petitions for peace. Ch'ienlung would, however, make no terms with rebels who had so flagrantly defied his authority, and Akwei again pushed his advantage to the utmost. At last every stronghold but one was taken, and at this remaining fortress the Miaotzŭ offered a heroic defense. So bravely did they fight that Akwei with all the force at his command was unable to capture the place. Famine, however, brought the defenders to their knees. The stronghold was yielded, and the chief with his wife and children surrendered to the Chinese general on condition that their lives should be spared. General Gordon had some experience of the value of such a promise as that made by Akwei on this occasion. It will be remembered that when the Wangs of Soochow surrendered to Gordon on the express condition that their lives should be granted to them, Li Hung Chang treacherously put them to death. In the same way Ch'ienlung acted toward the Miaotzŭ chief and family. With great pomp and circumstance Akwei presented his captives to the emperor, who in spite of the plighted word of the general, sentenced the chief, Sonomu, and his family to death, and transported the men of the garrison to Ili, where they were condemned to labor as military convicts for the rest of their lives.

The conquest of the Miaotzŭ was one which fostered the imperial vanity of Ch'ienlung. They were a tribe within his own frontier, and had never before suffered at the hands of the Chinese such crushing defeats as had now overtaken them. A dukedom was conferred on Akwei, who was further graced with a yellow girdle to replace the red one which had hitherto marked his rank, while abundant honors were showered on his subordinates. For some reason, which does not plainly appear, General Fu Tê, who had been second in command, was left out in the cold, or, at least, considered that he had been so treated. He was a rough soldier, and was not accustomed to conceal his feelings. The elevation of Akwei was, in his eyes, excessive, and he was incautious enough to express his views on the subject. In the East it is not wise to denounce a court favorite when in high honor, and the friends of Akwei took occasion to bring to light certain peccadillos which during his career had been committed by Fu Tê, and which were probably far less important than those which might have been laid to their own charge. But the tide was in their favor, and the emperor sentenced the general to death. Fu Tê had served his country well in Mongolia and in southwestern China, and had received signal instances of his imperial master's favor for the skill with which he had seconded the efforts of Chao Huei in the pacification of the tribes in central Asia, and one cannot, therefore, but regret that so stern a fate should have overtaken him. In narrating the incidents connected with the Miaotzŭ war, the imperial chronicler states that the cost of the expedition amounted to 30,000,000 taels.

In an empire extending over such a wide area as that ruled by Ch'ienlung, and in a country where the administration from its decentralized nature has never been thoroughly effective, it is impossible that there should not be constant outbreaks and disturbances in the outlying districts. Formosa has always been a difficult possession. The ranges of mountains which fringe its eastern shores form the homes of savage tribes who have never submitted to the Chinese yoke; while the Chinese settlers on the western plains have acquired a rough and independent habit from the lack of all official restraint. It will be remembered that Koxinga found a congenial refuge in its harbors from the attacks of the Manchus, and it has been at all times an Alsatia to which the lawless and the vagabonds have naturally gravitated. In 1786 a local official took upon himself the responsibility of arresting a man named Lin on the charge of disloyalty. It must be confessed that the arrest was fully justified. Lin was one of those men whose personality was such as enabled him to exercise a powerful influence on his fellow-men. By establishing a secret society he had succeeded in drawing many thousands of his fellow-subjects to his banners; and the local mandarin not unnaturally thought that if he were not quickly lodged in prison he might possibly seat himself on the throne. But he did not count the cost, and the news was no sooner bruited about that Lin was a prisoner than his followers rose, murdered the venturesome mandarin, and released his prisoner. Here were undoubtedly the makings of a very pretty quarrel, and Ch'ienlung was not the man to submit to be browbeaten. An army was sent to the scene of strife, but like so many first movements in Chinese campaigns, the efforts of the force were doomed to complete failure. The troops had no sooner touched the shores of Formosa than they were attacked by Lin's banditti and utterly destroyed, the general in command saving himself only by a hasty flight to the mainland. On the receipt of this news Ch'ienlung, after a usual custom, offered the rebels terms of peace. What the nature of these were does not appear, but Lin made counter propositions to those presented to him by Ch'ienlung's envoys. He demanded first of all that the viceroy of Fuhkien, to which the island was dependent and who had ordered cruel measures of repression should be put to death; that he personally should not be called upon to present himself at Peking; and finally that the administration on the island should be of a milder form than had been the case hitherto. It was said that upward of twenty thousand soldiers had fallen in battle, and though it is not incumbent upon us to accept this as an accurate statement, yet there can be no doubt that the loss of life had been very great. The recollection of this death roll, coupled with Lin's repudiation of his imperial terms, determined Ch'ienlung to send an overwhelming force to crush the movement.

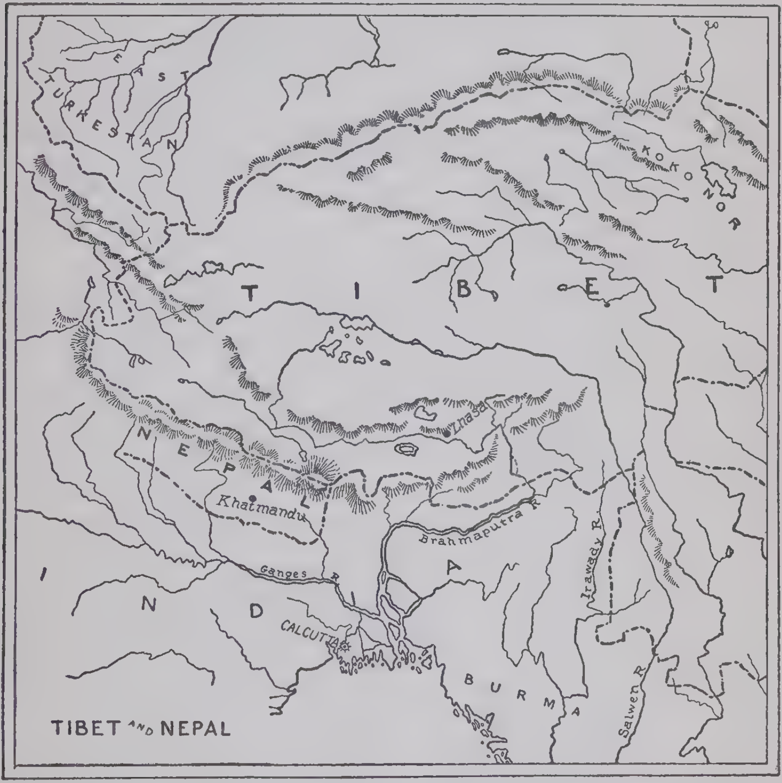
An army of one hundred thousand men, under the command of General Fu K'angan, was shipped across the straits which divided Fuhkien from the scene of strife, and though Lin's troops fought bravely against the invaders, they were no match for the seasoned imperial soldiers, many of whom had learned the art of war in Burma and had helped to carry the fastnesses of the Miaotzŭ tribes. In these conditions there could be but one result, and before long General Fu was able to return to Peking with the news that the island was thoroughly pacified. The loss of life among the natives in this campaign is frightful to contemplate, and as a matter of fact Fu's triumph was achieved by making a desert and calling it peace. Formosa, which was ceded to Japan by the treaty of 1895, has continued to present the same administrative difficulties that marked its relations with the Chinese from the time of its incorporation into their empire. The people are not readily handled, and the neighborhood of the mountain tribes adds an ever-impending terror to the occupation of the more habitable and less inaccessible parts of the island.

At this time Ch'ienlung was not only master of his own empire, but was also the arbiter of the fates of the surrounding countries. His battalions were so vast, the civilization which he represented was, comparatively speaking, so advanced, and the weapons used by his troops were so superior to those employed in other Eastern lands, that his name was one to conjure with; and in disputed successions, whether in Tibet, Mongolia, or Cochin China, he was commonly appealed to as judge. Shortly after the conclusion of the Formosan war a revolution broke out in Cochin China, headed by an ex-minister named Yuan, which ended in the deposition of the king. In this emergency the defeated potentate appealed for help to Ch'ienlung, who ordered the governor of the neighboring province of Kwangsi to reinstate the dethroned monarch. This the governor successfully effected. On his return toward the Chinese frontier, however, he was suddenly attacked by the rebel leader, who, by force of arms and by clever strategy, inflicted a humiliating defeat upon him. On the occasion of this reverse Ch'ienlung appointed the veteran Fu K'angan to avenge the outrage. Probably the fame of this noted general impressed Yuan with the consciousness that further resistance was useless. At all events he made the most abject submission to the imperial forces, and so persuasive was he in his pleadings for a favorable consideration that Ch'ienlung not only forgave him his offenses, but placed him on the throne of the now, for the second time, dispossessed king. To display his gratitude, Yuan, taking advantage of Ch'ienlung's eightieth birthday, presented himself at Jehol, and, as a reward for his loyalty, was invested with the title and authority of a tributary sovereign.

The reign of Ch'ienlung was throughout a period of wars and rumors of wars, and he had no sooner settled the Cochin China difficulty to his satisfaction than his attention was directed to the extreme western part of his subordinate dominions. It happened that a short time previously the Panshen Lama of ulterior Tibet had made a pilgrimage to Peking in order to implore the Seven Weeks of Blessing on the aged emperor. In the presence of his Imperial Majesty the lama displayed Buddhist relics so numerous that, as the native historian states, they "might have filled the sea, and when piled up were as high as mountains." While glorying in these religious trophies he was seized with smallpox and died after a short illness. His valuables and treasures, which seem to have been as plentiful as his relics, were handed over to his elder brother, the Hut'ukht'u, or Saint Tsungpa, to the exclusion of his younger brother, who was further excommunicated as a heretic for belonging to the "Red Religion" rather than the orthodox yellow phase of the faith.

Shémarpa, the younger brother, could have put up with the excommunication, but to be disinherited was more than he felt inclined to endure, and, with a notable want of patriotism, he, by way of revenge for the treatment he had received, invited the Gurkhas of Nepal to enrich themselves by plundering the immense wealth which Tsungpa had appropriated to himself. Ever ready for either fighting or plunder, the Gurkhas easily yielded to the temptation, and, having collected an army, crossed the frontier into Tibet. Generals Pa Chung, Go Huei, and Chêng Tê, the Chinese wardens of the marches, being well aware that the troops at their command were quite insufficient to withstand the invaders, compounded with them by offering them a bribe on behalf of the Tibetans of 10,500 ounces of gold to be paid annually by the abbots of the lamaist monasteries. At the same time the gallant generals reported to the throne that the Gurkhas had tendered their allegiance to the empire, and had presented tribute as an offering of peace.

When the time for the first settlement arrived the Gurkhas addressed a letter to the Chinese resident, requesting payment of the sum agreed upon. By skillful maneuvering the resident evaded, for the time being, this demand, but when the second year's subsidy became due, his blandishments failed, and the Gurkhas invaded the country in force. The rich city of Tashilumbo, or "Mountain of Blessings," where resided the Saint Tsungpa, was their objective. The position of the city is by nature strong, being protected on one side by the "Much-winding" River and on the other by a range of precipitous mountains. If the lamas, who numbered several thousand, had seriously undertaken the defense of the sacred city, they would, without question, have been able to hold it against the assault of the Gurkhas. But these holy men being debilitated by their religious calling, and being disinclined to fight, discovered that the omens were favorable, and that the fact of the "Mother of Heaven" having taken the city under her special protection made it unnecessary for them to bestir themselves. The result was that Tashilumbo fell an easy prey to the invader, and that those who should have defended it were either dispersed or slain. The news of this defeat completely upset the proverbial calm of the Dalai lama, who not unnaturally feared that the same fate which had overtaken the "Mountain of Blessings" might be shared by the holy city of Lhasa. The gods not having interfered for the protection of the divine soil of Tibet, he in his difficulty



TIBET AND NEPAL

turned to Peking for help, and it so happened that at the moment when his appeal reached Ch'ienlung, Pa Chung was commanding the escort which was accompanying the emperor to Jehol. The position was further complicated, from Pa Chung's point of view, by the fact that a revelation was at the same time made of the compact made between him and the Gurkhas. Feeling incapable of facing the inevitable inquiry, he escaped from the dilemma by committing suicide, and his mouth being thus closed, his two late colleagues promptly disclaimed all participation in the arrangement which had been come to, and denounced Pa Chung as an arch-traitor. The answer to these disclaimers was an order to those who made them to march at once into Tibet and to drive out the invaders. In order to make victory certain, however, General Fu K'angan was appointed commander-in-chief, with directions to collect Manchu troops and trained colonists to attack the enemy. A considerable share of blame was attached by the emperor to the late resident in Tibet, who, to expiate his offenses, was sentenced to march at the head of the troops, wearing on his neck a cangue, or heavy wooden collar.

Meanwhile the Gurkhas, who had taken part in the corrupt negotiations of peace, had returned to Nepal with their plunder, leaving only a thousand men to guard the frontier. So pusillanimous were the Chinese generals on the spot that they neither interfered with these "gorged vagrants," as the Chinese historian calls them, nor attacked the insignificant force left to oppose them. In the following year, however, General Fu entered ulterior Tibet from Kokonor, and having defeated the Gurkha frontier force, invaded Nepal. For strategic reasons he divided his army into three columns, the center one being under his personal command. The generals commanding the right and left columns had orders to push on and turn the flanks of any force that might be opposing the main advance. But from the first the Gurkhas showed rather signs of retreating than of advancing, and as they retired they sought to impede the enemy's movements by destroying the suspension and other bridges which crossed the mountain torrents in those highland districts. Though these tactics delayed the Chinese advance, General Fu pushed persistently on, and inflicted several severe defeats on the enemy. The Gurkhas were now thoroughly alarmed, and sent messengers to beg for peace. But Fu was inexorable, and in spite of the stubborn opposition of the

Gurkhas at points of vantage, he succeeded in reaching within striking distance of the capital, Khatmandu, with 49,000 confident troops still under his command. Here the Gurkha ruler drew up his battered forces for a desperate last stand. The battle was relentlessly fought, and only by turning his guns on his own men could the Chinese general keep them to the attack. The victory over the Gurkhas was at length decisive, but the approach of winter, when a retreat through the mountain passes of Nepal and Tibet must necessarily have been attended with difficulty and danger, inclined General Fu to listen to renewed pleading for peace. Finally, this was granted, and Fu retired, after having received the submission of the Gurkha chiefs, who declared their country to be tributary to China. From that day to this tribute missions in compliance with this treaty have without fail wended their weary way through the wastes of Tibet to Peking, at the stated intervals agreed upon.

Ch'ienlung stands out as the greatest of the Manchu kings and may justly be regarded as the last of the Chinese emperors who actually ruled over the country. The vigorous policy of his reign reflected the firmness of his will despite the strength of the corrupt mandarin party "always in the ascendant in Peking." The difficulty of an empire occupying almost one-third of the whole vast continent of Asia can easily be understood. Unwieldy, and as yet unwelded, the numerous provinces and dependencies, while nominally under the rule of the "King of Heaven," were in reality a federation of kingdoms, as in the present day, each under the despotic rule of its governor or viceroy, and with its teeming populations existing, in spite of great agricultural and mineral wealth, in a condition of popular misery bordering on absolute starvation.

With practically no constitutional unity, with neither racial nor religious affinity, the peoples of the vast empire exhibit as much diversity as do the extremes of climate and topography. The Manchus of the north are antipodal to the Tibetans of the south and even within China proper the middle southern province of Hunan bears little relation of sympathy with the province of Kansu in the northwest. Sloping from the huge mountain masses of central Asia eastward to the Pacific Ocean and covering more than four million square miles, China presents every variety of geographical characteristic from the tropical coast-clinging provinces of the south to the temperate borders of the Gulf of Pe-chi-li and includes wild mountainous tracts, table-lands, alluvial plains, and loess and non-loess regions. The loess—from the German *löss* (loose), and called by the Chinese *hwang-tu*—is a sort of loose, sandy soil, spreading over high ground and low, smoothing irregularities and sometimes reaching a depth of many hundred feet. Geologists explain it as a dust deposit blown for countless generations from the interior deserts. It clearly characterizes northern China and of itself is responsible for many distinguishing features, not only in the scenery but in the agricultural products and the general mode of life of the inhabitants of such regions.

PART II

THE GROWTH OF COMMERCE AND THE FIRST FOREIGN WARS. 1796-1860

Chapter V

THE OPENING OF DIPLOMATIC INTERCOURSE WITH FOREIGN NATIONS. 1635-1799

THE reign of Ch'ienlung was now drawing to its close, but before he abdicated, in 1796, an event occurred which opened new relations between the West and China. Up to this time the relations of foreigners with the Chinese Government had been in a most unsatisfactory condition, although England had attempted on many occasions so to open diplomatic intercourse as to secure to her subjects at least the rights and privileges belonging to traders in foreign lands. So long ago as the reign of Queen Elizabeth an expedition was sent out under John Mildenhall to open trading relations with the Celestial Empire. The mission was a failure, but, nothing daunted, Charles I. granted a charter to a body of English merchants empowering them to form an official company to promote commerce with the Chinese. In pursuance of this right, Captain Weddell in 1635 reached Macao in command of a small trading fleet. The Portuguese, whose government had promised to support the British venture, threw, however, every obstacle in the way of the English captain, who at length, worn out by the obstructions offered by the Portuguese and the subterfuges of the mandarins, determined to advance in his boats to Canton. When passing the Bogue forts on his way up the river, a battery suddenly opened fire on his flotilla, upon which he at once determined to inflict punishment on the authors of this attack. Having moved his ships into position opposite the forts, he hoisted a red flag and opened fire on the batteries. The Chinese gunners, unaccustomed to such reprisals, soon ceased to reply to the English guns. Weddell thereupon landed a force, took possession of the forts, and hoisted the British colors over them.

This kind of argument had the effect which it always has had upon the Chinese. Negotiations were opened at once, and the right to trade was granted on condition that the guns captured from the Bogue forts should be returned. Very little, however, resulted from this agreement. The exactions imposed by the Chinese on all imports and exports were so excessive that the company felt it almost useless to attempt to carry on a trade. During the piratical rule, however, of Koxinga's son at Formosa and Amoy some privileges of value were granted to English traders, and in 1678 the trade at the two places was valued at something like $60,000. Three years later, however, the company withdrew from these ports and established a single factory at Canton. Subsequently Catchpoole was appointed British consul to China, and in 1701 succeeded in inducing the Chinese to allow ships to trade at Ningpo. But again the extortions of the mandarins destroyed the expected profit of the venture, and at Canton equally grievous burdens were tending to make trade impossible. The duty on imports was increased to 16 per cent., and heavy exactions were demanded in exchange for the right of provisioning the ships. An appeal against these disabilities was made to the governor of Canton in person, but though some temporary relief was granted, the system which had been adopted of farming out the foreign trade to a small company of native merchants had proved so convenient to the authorities that, though it practically entailed the evils complained of, it was again reverted to, while an additional duty of 10 per cent. upon all exports was further imposed. Such was the position of things when Ch'ienlung ascended the throne, and one of the first acts of his long and glorious reign was the remission of this extra burden. The emperor, however, coupled the concession with the demand that the foreign merchants should listen to his gracious message on their knees, and should give up all the arms which they possessed on board their ships. Happily the merchants refused to buy the imperial favor by such observances, and they neither bowed the knee nor gave up their guns at Ch'ienlung's bidding. Though hampered by vexatious regulations and impoverished by extortions, the foreign trade at Canton made some headway, and it is stated that in the year of Ch'ienlung's accession there were anchored at that port four English, two French, two Dutch, one Danish, and one Swedish vessel. In 1742 H. M. S. *Centurion,* commanded by Commodore Anson, the first British man-of-war which had ever visited China, arrived at Macao. With an even hand the Chinese sought to inflict on the commodore the same petty annoyances as those to which the merchants were accustomed. He was refused provisions for his ship, an unfriendly act which he met by demanding an interview with the governor, and by refusing to leave the river until he had been supplied with all necessary requirements.

With the policy of obstruction which has always distinguished the conduct of the Chinese toward foreigners, the authorities at Canton, instead of trying to foster the trade which was already enriching the native official and merchants, continued to heap burdens upon it, until they nearly succeeded in starving out the European traders, the mandarins risking, for the sake of an immediate temporary gain, the future and increasing profit which might legitimately be expected to accrue to them. So discouraged were the foreigners at this attitude of the Canton authorities that they again attempted to open a trade with Amoy and Ningpo. In neither case, however, was the enterprise successful, and, in 1759, Flint, a pioneer of commerce, who had been sent to Ningpo, finding commercial relations impossible at that port, took ship in a native vessel for Tientsin, from which place he communicated a memorial to the emperor, showing the position of affairs. So enterprising a foreigner was evidently one to be got rid of, and by way of an answer he was ordered to return to Canton in the company of a mandarin appointed to escort him. Ostensibly, however, he had gained much that he had sought for. All duties over 6 per cent. were remitted, and illegal exactions were forbidden.

According to the Chinese custom in such matters, the governor of the city desired to communicate the emperor's orders to Flint in person. Fortunately for the latter he was accompanied on the occasion by some of his own countrymen, for, to the extreme astonishment of himself and his friends, they were, without notice, forcibly hurried into the governor's presence, where the official myrmidons tried to compel them to do homage on their knees after the Chinese manner. The Englishmen resisted this violence, and with such determination that, at length, the governor ordered his men to desist from what seemed likely to prove an unsuccessful struggle. He then bade Flint advance, and showing him a paper which purported to be an imperial edict, he informed him that he was to be banished to Macao, and subsequently to be deported to England as a punishment for having endeavored to open a trade at Ningpo contrary to orders from Peking. This sentence was carried out in its entirety, and the Chinaman who had written the petition which had been presented to the emperor was beheaded for having traitorously encouraged a foreigner.

It is difficult to understand how the foreign residents at Canton could have put up with the insults to which they were now daily subjected. "The Barbarians are like beasts, and are not to be ruled on the same principles as ordinary men," said the Chinese; and, to give them their due, they certainly acted up to their opinions. The handful of foreigners, who were constantly threatened by the millions of natives by whom they were surrounded, were powerless to resist successfully the indignities which were heaped upon them, and some lamentable instances occurred in which gross injustice resulted to individuals from the inequality of the opposing forces. In 1784, on the occasion of a salute being fired from an English ship, a Chinaman was accidentally killed by a shot which had been carelessly left in the gun. The authorities immediately demanded that the man who fired the gun should be handed over to them for punishment. Having a shrewd suspicion that this demand would be refused, the Chinese strengthened their hands by the adoption of a subterfuge. They seized the supercargo of another vessel, and gave formal notice that his release could only be obtained by the surrender of the gunner. The supercargo was well treated in his confinement, and, believing that the object of the mandarins in desiring the gunner's presence was merely to arrive at a full understanding of the case, he wrote urging that the man should be sent. Unfortunately this was done. The supercargo was instantly released and the gunner was strangled. Happily this is the only case in which an Englishman, under similar circumstances, has been handed over to the tender mercies of the Chinese, and it may be safely assumed that it will be the last.

Enough has been said to show how extremely unsatisfactory were the relations between China and the East India Company during the eighteenth century. The position was so derogatory to England, and was so full of profitless difficulties to the merchants themselves, that the serious attention of the English Government was directed to the situation, and it was finally decided to send a special ambassador to the court of Peking to arrange terms on which the natives of the two countries might live together in peace and amity. In 1788 Colonel Cathcart was appointed to this office. Unhappily, however, he died before reaching China, and four years later Lord Macartney was nominated to succeed him. Great preparations were made to confer dignity on this mission, and presents of every sort were collected to serve as tokens of the friendly feeling of the third George toward the aged emperor. On arriving off the coast of the Celestial Empire, Lord Macartney was met with every sign of consideration and good will, and pilots were waiting in readiness to steer his vessel through the straits of Formosa northward to the mouth of the Peiho. There Lord Macartney was received by a special commissioner of high rank, who bade him welcome in the name of his imperial master. On the shores of the river, where, in 1859, British soldiers and sailors were treacherously fired on from the neighboring forts, were collected gifts and provisions for presentation to "the great mandarin, who," as Ch'ienlung said, "had come so far to testify the friendly feelings of England toward China." Twenty bullocks, a hundred and twenty sheep, a hundred and twenty pigs, and countless other provender were provided for the food of the Englishmen. A fleet of yacht-like vessels, numbers of vehicles, and numerous horses were held in readiness to convey the embassy to Tientsin. Preferring to go by water, a specially commodious vessel was prepared for Lord Macartney, while sixteen other boats provided accommodation for the members of the mission and the escort. At Tientsin the embassy was royally entertained, and during their stay at that port dramas were continuously acted for their amusement in a temporary theater erected on the shore opposite their vessels. After a further voyage Lord Macartney reached Tungchow, the port of Peking. Here preparations were made for the land journey to the capital, and here also discussions were renewed as to the etiquette to be observed on the ambassador being presented to the emperor. As has already been shown, the Chinese have persistently attempted to induce all foreign envoys to k'ot'ow when entering the presence of the "Son of Heaven." It was part of the duty of the imperial commissioner attached to the embassy to induce Lord Macartney to perform this degrading ceremony, and he used his best endeavors to carry his point. But Lord Macartney, who had received positive instructions on the subject before leaving England, distinctly declined to yield unless a Chinese official of equal rank with himself would k'ot'ow before the portrait of the English king. This condition was referred to Ch'ienlung, who, recognizing the uselessness of continuing the discussion, had the wisdom to allow the matter to drop.

The transportation of the presents from Tungchow to Peking was a matter of some difficulty. They varied in size from carriages to watches, and some idea of their number may be gauged from the fact that ninety wagons, forty barrows, two hundred horses, and three thousand men were employed to carry them. It speaks well for the manner in which they were packed that, though many were fragile, they all arrived safely at the house prepared for the ambassador in the neighborhood of the Summer Palace of Yuan-ming-yuan.

As the members of the mission entered the gates of Peking on their way to their destination a salute of guns was fired in their honor, and every courtesy was extended to them. Ch'ienlung was at this time at Jehol, in Mongolia, and as it was plainly impossible to carry the presents thither, it was agreed that they should be arranged in the throne-room of the palace at Peking to await the inspection of his Imperial Majesty on his return to the capital. The presence of Lord Macartney in this room of state suggested a recurrence of the vexed question of the k'ot'ow, and the minister, Ho, who was especially appointed to entertain the English ambassador, was persistent in his endeavors to reopen the question. Lord Macartney, however, was firm, and explained that a derogatory action on the part of an ambassador was in Europe regarded as a derogatory action on the part of the ambassador's sovereign, and emphasized the point by describing how Timagoras, a Greek ambassador to the court of Persia, was executed on his return to Athens for having submitted to discourtesy at the court of Teheran. Lord Macartney further took this opportunity of expostulating with Ho about the impertinent legend which had been inscribed on the flag of the vessel on which he had voyaged up the Peiho, and which had described him as a tribute-bearer from the country of England.

So soon as was practicable, that is to say, on September 2, 1793, the embassy started for Jehol, Lord Macartney traveling in an English postchaise. On the fourth day they reached the Great Wall, where a strong guard of soldiers was drawn up to do them honor. Three days later they reached Jehol, where they were accommodated in one of the most spacious houses in the town. After many discussions with Ho an audience was arranged for the fourteenth of the month. The Chinese have a most uncomfortable habit of holding their state ceremonies at daybreak, and it is part of the etiquette that those attending such functions should be in waiting some hours before the appointed time. Fortunately on this occasion the temperature was mild, and therefore no serious inconvenience was suffered; but in the winter season not the least arduous part of a minister's duty is to wait at the early hours of the morning in cold, fireless rooms for the honor of a momentary conversation with the "Son of Heaven." A tent set in the garden of the palace formed the court of audience, and so soon as Ch'ienlung had mounted the throne, Lord Macartney, with a number of envoys from tributary states, was admitted into the presence. It had been arranged that he should offer precisely the same homage to the emperor as he was accustomed to offer to his own sovereign. As he advanced, therefore, to the throne, he knelt on one knee, and, raising the gold box which contained the king's letter with both hands above his head, he presented it to Ch'ienlung, who, taking it from his hands, inquired as to the health of the English sovereign, at the same time expressing gratification that he should have sent his ambassador to so distant a court. In the course of the conversation which followed there occurred a difficulty in interpreting, and in reply to a question put from the throne, Ch'ienlung was informed that the only member of the embassy who spoke Chinese was George Staunton, the ambassador's page, aged thirteen. Ch'ienlung ordered the lad to be presented to him, and, being pleased with the boy's manner and appearance, took his purse from his belt and bestowed it on him.

Subsequently a feast was spread, when the seat of honor was given to Lord Macartney, with whom the emperor exchanged civilities, and to whom he sent dainty morsels of food and wine from his own table. So far, however, the object of the mission had not been advanced one iota. The audience had been merely formal, and in his conversations with Minister Ho, Lord Macartney had found it impossible to discuss at length the main issues between them. Ho was a typical Oriental courtier, subtle, polite, and apparently ingenuous. He possessed, also, a full share of that Oriental diplomacy which enables Chinese negotiators to avoid disagreeable topics. In other respects, too, he was a typical Eastern statesman. "Born in the garret, in the kitchen bred," he happened on one occasion to attract the emperor's attention by his courtly bearing and handsome presence With unusual rapidity he was advanced from office to office until he reached the highest rung of the ladder. So long as Ch'ienlung lived he maintained his position, but evil days fell upon him when Chiach'ing succeeded to the throne. The new emperor had long disapproved of the unlimited power which Ho had exercised. He knew, also, that he had acquired immense wealth in other ways than by the lawful rewards of his official position, and Ch'ienlung was, therefore, no sooner gathered to his fathers than Ho was arrested on a long series of charges embracing malfeasance in every relation of life. The amount of wealth discovered in his palace must have been a surprise even to his judges. Gold, silver, and jewels to the value of $116,650,000 were discovered in his treasury. This alone was enough to convict him of the gravest crimes, and from a Chinese point of view, to justify the sentence passed upon him, of being cut to pieces. In consideration, however, of his long service the emperor was graciously pleased to commute this cruel fate to the present of a silken cord, which brought the nefarious career of this illustrious culprit to a close.

But though corrupt and officially dishonest, Ho was an agreeable companion, and made an exceptionally good cicerone on the occasion when, at the emperor's invitation, Lord Macartney visited the Palace Gardens at Jehol. Indeed on this day he, in the exercise of friendship, exerted himself unduly, and was indebted for the recovery from his fatigues to the kindly attention of the doctor of the English embassy. One other entertainment, which again took place at the very uncomfortable hour of sunrise, brought the imperial hospitalities to an end, and on September 21 Lord Macartney left Jehol for Peking. After some weeks' stay in that capital it was arranged that he should leave for the south, and the exigences of his position obliged him to accept the route laid down by the Chinese. This entailed a long land journey through the provinces of Shantung, Kiangsu, Chehkiang, and Fuhkien to Canton, where he arrived on December 19. He eventually reached England on September 5, 1794.

It is impossible to study the history of Lord Macartney's mission without observing the consistent political hostility toward foreign nations which was shown by the Chinese Government, at the same time that much good-will toward the ambassador personally was displayed by the emperor and some of the officials. No commercial privileges resulted from Lord Macartney's negotiations, and the ill-concealed contempt of most of those with whom he was brought into contact marks but too clearly the spirit of exclusive jealousy which has guided, and is still guiding, the policy of the Peking cabinet. The impertinent inscription on the ambassador's flag, the facts that though treated with personal respect he was guarded as a prisoner; that those of the mission who remained at Peking during his absence at Jehol were practically confined to the house, and were not allowed even to receive visits from the European missionaries in the capital; that the tedious land journey from the north to the south of the empire was unnecessarily inflicted upon him, all point to the same supercilious regard which it is the habit of the Celestials to entertain toward foreigners. The Chinese have habitually assumed such a distant and lofty attitude toward Europeans that they have by force of insistence succeeded to some extent in inducing these to accept them at their own valuation. In this attitude they have been strengthened by the fact that unfortunately the "Outer Barbarians" have invariably appeared as suppliants for favors to come, and that they have been always the dispensers of privileges for which they have not asked anything in return. Lord Macartney was doubtless pleased and surprised at the reception which he met with at the hands of the "Son of Heaven," and he was not inclined to observe too closely the political conduct of his entertainers. He was received as an envoy from a superior tributary state, and he was treated as such; and all that he succeeded in exacting from the government was a permission that his countrymen might trade at Canton on sufferance, so long as they obeyed the orders of the authorities. Under the circumstances it was quite impossible that he should have gained any diplomatic success. Concessions are only to be obtained from the Chinese by successes in the field, or by such a display of power as would command success; Lord Macartney had neither of these sources of authority at his back, and the result which followed was inevitable.

In 1796 Ch'ienlung abdicated in favor of his son, Chiach'ing, and three years later, on February 8, 1799, he became a "guest in heaven." The native historians state with justice that during the sixty years of his reign the empire reached its acme of greatness. From the northern steppes of Mongolia to Cochin China, and from Formosa to Nepal, the Chinese armies had fought and conquered. Upward of four hundred million of the human race had obeyed the commands of the great emperor, and in no instance had his foes been able to inflict more than a temporary defeat upon his troops.

Chapter VI

THE REIGN OF CHIACH'ING, AND THE FIRST YEARS OF HIS SUCCESSOR. 1796-1834

TO the splendid heritage bequeathed by Ch'ienlung his son Chiach'ing succeeded, and this change at once produced unfortunate results. The late sovereign was to his successor as Hyperion to a satyr; the gracious presence, courteous manner, and marked ability which belonged to Ch'ienlung were exchanged for churlish conduct, a sordid disposition, and an uncouth bearing in the case of Chiach'ing. The reins of empire, which for sixty years had been guided by the judicious hands of the father, were no sooner seized upon by his degenerate son than the forces of disorder and riot began to make themselves felt.

It is a current belief in China, as in many other lands, that the appearance of a comet forebodes ill to the ruling house, and history tells us that, during the year in which Chiach'ing ascended the throne, a "broom-tailed star" appeared in the west, and, if we are to believe their records, remained visible for twelve months. Such beliefs as this have a way of bringing about their own fulfillment, and it is possible that the leaders of the "White Lily" sect took advantage of this sign in the sky to raise the standard of revolt. This society, like all similar associations in China, began as a purely philanthropic institution, intended for the benefit of the sick and the distressed. By degrees more ambitious designs attracted the energies of the leaders, and, on the ready excuse of friction with the local authorities, a general revolt broke out almost simultaneously in the provinces of Honan, Shensi, Kansu, and Szech'uan, in which last territory the ranks of the society were largely recruited from the disbanded soldiers of the Nepal campaign. The struggle was long and fierce, and it is said that, in one province alone, between twenty and thirty thousand members of the incriminated society were put to death, while the imperial treasury was the poorer by 100,000,000 taels at the close of the civil war.

A notable feature of this uprising and a marked evidence of the unpopularity of Chiach'ing was the fact that as part of the movement two attempts were publicly made to assassinate the emperor, one in the streets of Peking and the other in the private apartments of the imperial palace. In both cases Chiach'ing was saved by the courage of others, rather than by his own valor. In the first instance the guards attached to his person, with the help of the people in the street, prevented the assassins from carrying out their fell intent, and on the other occasion his preservation was entirely due to the presence of mind and courage of Prince Mienning, his second son, who subsequently succeeded him as the Emperor Taokwang. In this latter instance the assassins forced their way into the imperial precincts, intent on finding their victim, who, according to some accounts, was not at the moment in the palace. But however that may be, Prince Mienning shot two of the would-be assassins, while a relative, who happened to be with him, accounted for a third. Chiach'ing's own description of the occurrence is as follows: "Suddenly on the 15th of the 9th moon, rebellion arose under my own arm. . . . A banditti of upward of seventy men of the Sect T'ienli violated the prohibited gate [of the palace]; they wounded the guard and rushed into the inner palace. Four were seized and bound; three others ascended the wall with a flag. My imperial second son seized a matchlock and shot two of them; my nephew killed the third. For this deliverance I am indebted to the energies of my second son."

It might have been thought that as Chiach'ing had so signally failed in securing the regard of his own countrymen he might have sought the alliance of foreigners. But he was even less in sympathy with these than with the Changs and Lis of the Middle Kingdom. The missionaries, to whom his father had shown respect and kindliness, were dismissed from the imperial presence; Father Amiot, who had resided in Peking for thirty years, was expelled from the capital, and the traders of Canton were made pointedly conscious that the central power was against them. An overbearing attitude was adopted toward Europeans generally, and no velvet glove concealed the mailed fist of the emperor, except on occasions when, with that curious mixture of arrogance and suppliancy, his representatives besought the help of English seamen against their domestic enemies. The southern coasts of China have always been the congenial haunts of pirates. The numberless inlets and countless islands which line the coast provide convenient and safe posts from which to watch for prey or to escape from pursuers. It will be remembered that Koxinga and his son practically held possession of the southern seaboard of the empire for a considerable period of years, and under the unsympathetic rule of Chiach'ing a successor to these leaders appeared in the person of one Ch'ai, who harassed the native shipping and even ventured to try conclusions with English vessels. Occasionally he attacked, by mistake, boats of British men-of-war, and in one case actually threw a large fishing net over the crew and boat of the *Dover*. The boat was at anchor at the time and the crew were asleep, but aroused by the onslaught, they drew their cutlasses, disentangled themselves from the meshes of the net, and promptly put the pirates to flight. Such outrages did not disturb the official consciences of the mandarins, but an event happened shortly afterward which as an insult to the empire roused even the dull sense of honor possessed by the authorities. The time had arrived for the payment of the Siamese tribute, and, as the cargo represented by this act of fealty was known to be a rich one, the pirates prepared to attack the vessels, and to lay violent hands on the presents intended for the imperial use. The prospect of this robbery touched the imperial dignity, and a request was made to the English at Canton that they would fit out a vessel to save the Siamese fleet from the fate intended for it. The English consented, and a small, though fit, crew manned the *Mercury* for the venture. The result was eminently successful. The pirate fleet was scattered to the four winds of heaven, and the Siamese tribute was carried safely to Peking.

This is the first, but by no means the only instance, in which foreign valor has saved Chinese honor. In the case of the T'aip'ing Rebellion, its suppression in 1864 was due to the help England afforded to the imperial forces. The Chinese plume themselves on being a proud nation, but when danger threatens they descend with agility from their pedestal and show an apt facility of falling on their knees. One remarkable instance of this was furnished during the war of 1857, when Yeh, while defending Canton against the English, saw fit to ask help from his foes to suppress a native rising against his rule!

But though glad of help from English ships, the increase in the number of men-of-war visiting Canton produced a disturbing influence on the minds of Chiach'ing and his followers. The war in Europe made it increasingly necessary that the English men-of-war should be available for the protection of British trade, and the seizure of Macao in 1802, and again in 1813, to prevent the settlement from falling into the hands of the French, produced violent remonstrances from the mandarins, accompanied by threats that the trade of Canton should be stopped if the port were not evacuated. The same hostile spirit marked the few communications which passed between Peking and London during this period. A present which was sent to an official who had been civil in his dealings with Lord Macartney was returned with scant courtesy, and a letter, addressed by Chiach'ing to George III., was marked by all the stilted arrogance common to the Chinese. "Your Majesty's kingdom," wrote the emperor, "is at a remote distance beyond the seas, but is observant of its duties and obedience to our laws, beholding from afar the glory of our empire, and respectfully admiring the perfection of our government. Your Majesty has dispatched messengers with letters for our perusal; we find that they are dictated by appropriate sentiments of esteem and veneration; and being therefore inclined to fulfill the wishes of your Majesty, we have determined to accept the whole of the accompanying offering. With regard to those of your Majesty's subjects who for a long course of years have been in the habit of trading with our empire, we must observe to you that our Celestial Government regards all persons and nations with eyes of charity and benevolence, and always treats and considers your subjects with the utmost indulgence and affection; on their account, therefore, there can be no place or occasion for the exertions of your Majesty's Government."

Being of very inferior ability to his father Chiach-ing had none of the breadth of mind which suggested to Ch'ienlung the toleration which distinguished that emperor's reign. Being uncertain of the respect of those about him, he was more punctilious as to outward forms and ceremonies. A lack of the spirit of veneration is often supplied by additional scrupulousness about the minutiæ of ritual. Ch'ienlung had looked upon the k'ot'ow as an obeisance commonly due to him, but in receiving Lord Macartney's mission he was wise enough to recognize that it might be given up without any loss of dignity on his part. His son had no such width of view, and insisted that anyone entering his presence, whether a native or a foreigner, should go through the formality of striking the head on the ground. His persistence in this matter wrecked two embassies to his court. In 1805 a Russian embassy, under Count Goloyken, traveled overland on the way to Peking and reached the Great Wall in due course. Here the count was met by emissaries from Chiach'ing who informed him that unless he would consent to perform the k'ot'ow when admitted to imperial audiences he might save himself the trouble of coming any further. The ambassador firmly refused so to degrade himself, and as the only way out of the deadlock was to return whence he came, he turned his camels' heads round and disappeared across the desert. Eleven years later George III., of England, determined to send a second envoy to renew the negotiations opened by Lord Macartney. For this important mission Lord Amherst, who had distinguished himself at many courts, was chosen as the king's representative. Without adventure he arrived at Tientsin, where he was met by commissioners who, while preserving a semblance of courtesy, began at once to raise the question of the k'ot'ow. Day after day with wearisome reiteration they brought forward the same demands, supported by what they were good enough to call arguments, and were answered in the same words based on the same reasons. At one time it looked as though Lord Amherst's fate was to have been that of Count Goloyken. But for some reason, possibly the prospect of receiving presents similar to those brought by Lord Macartney, Chiach'ing was evidently desirous that the ambassador should be admitted into his presence, and hence, though Lord Amherst was firm on the point in dispute, he was allowed to proceed to Tungchow, within twelve miles of the capital. Here two men of superior rank and condition met him and at once urged him to consent to what they called the national custom. Lord Amherst repeated the proposition made by Lord Macartney, that if a mandarin of equal rank with himself would k'ot'ow to a portrait of George III. he would do likewise in the presence of Chiach'ing. This concession was declined, and Lord Amherst next proposed that he should bow low nine times before the emperor, while the courtiers performed the nine prostrations of the k'ot'ow. This also was declared to be inadmissible, and the prospect before the mission became black indeed. To Lord Amherst's surprise, however, Duke Ho, the chief commissioner, informed him that the emperor had given orders for the mission to be brought to Yuan-ming-yuan on the following day. The journey, barely more than twenty miles, might well have been made within the hours of daylight, even at a foot's pace. But as if to aggravate the discomfort of the ambassador, Ho arranged that the cavalcade should start at five o'clock in the evening, with the result that it did not arrive at Yuan-ming-yuan until daylight on the next morning. While weary and worn with this tedious and untimely journey, the ambassador and his suite were hustled into a small room where they were subjected to the inquisitive scrutiny of people of all ranks, who treated them, in the words of Ellis, the historian of the mission, with "brutal rudeness and an insulting demeanor." Lord Amherst was still further disturbed by the arrival of Duke Ho, who brought a message from the emperor to say that he desired to see the ambassador at once. Lord Amherst expostulated against this discourteous demand, and pleaded his fatigue and the non-arrival of his court attire. Ho, however, was doubly and anxiously persistent, and even attempted on one occasion to force the ambassador into the emperor's presence. This impertinence was resented by Lord Amherst, who sent a respectful message to Chiach'ing, informing him of the circumstances of the case, and begging to be allowed time to recover from his fatigue before presenting himself in the august presence. A peremptory answer was returned to this very reasonable request, ordering the ambassador at once to set out for Tungchow, en route to Canton. No option was allowed him, and he, therefore, shook the dust of Peking off his feet and turned his face southward.

It is only due to Chiach'ing to say that his natural discourtesy toward foreigners was aggravated in this case by the deceptions practiced upon him by his ministers. According to an imperial edict, published after Lord Amherst's departure, it appears that Duke Ho had reported to his master from Tungchow that "the English tribute-bearer was daily practicing the ceremony [of k'ot'ow], and was manifesting the highest possible respect and veneration." It is also stated on the imperial word that Ho had concealed the fact that Lord Amherst declined the audience owing to fatigue after his journey, and represented him as being contumacious. For these offenses Duke Ho was fined five years' salary and was stripped of his yellow jacket. The further sentence that he should be deprived of all his offices, the emperor was graciously pleased to remit in consideration of his many services. According to the emperor, Ho and his companion Mu were overcome with remorse at the part they had played, and when introduced into the imperial presence they made full confession, "pulling off their caps and dashing their heads against the ground." It is possible that this demonstrative contrition may have had the effect of mitigating the imperial wrath.

Another and a remarkable Englishman suffered at about the same time a somewhat similar rebuff on the part of the Celestials. Manning, who was a considerable Chinese scholar, arrived at Canton in 1814, inspired by the vain hope that his knowledge of the language, and sympathy with the people would gain him favor in their eyes. He was soon undeceived, and, disheartened with his failure, left Canton for India, whence he traveled into Tibet. Here better fortune attended him. He gained admission into Lhasa, and thus secured the distinction of being the first Englishman to enter the portals of that sacred city.

The remaining years of Chiach'ing were few and evil, and in 1820, at the age of sixty-one, death overtook him. When quite a lad he showed some literary talent and we are told that when thirteen years of age, on the occasion of his father, Ch'ienlung, examining him in the hall of Confucius, "the verses that might be expected from a boy of such an age were duly composed." But in after life all taste for literature disappeared and he found his principal amusement in the society of actors. Immediately after the morning audience it was his wont to retire to his private apartments, where, in the company of comedians, he sang and played. It is even said that when he went to offer the sacred sacrifices to Heaven and Earth it was his practice to take some of his favorites with him. With the courage which either makes or mars a Chinese statesman the Minister Sung took upon himself the invidious task of remonstrating with his liege lord on the impropriety of these habits. This reproval, instead of producing the desired result, only irritated Chiach'ing, who, however, was quite unable to deny the allegations contained in the accusing memorial. In answer to a summons calling on him to appear before his angry master, Sung presented himself on his knees, trembling. After some words of reproof Chaich'ing asked the minister what he deserved for the crime of inculpating the "Son of Heaven." "Quartering," was the answer. After an interval which must have contained anxious moments for Sung, the same question was repeated, and the minister, regarding the repetition as a sign of mitigating wrath, replied: "Let me be beheaded." Yet a third time the question was put. "Let me be strangled," was the answer. At these words Sung was dismissed from the audience chamber, and the next day received the appointment of governor of the province of Ili, where, in the opinion of his imperial master, he would be unable to pry into the amusements of the palace, and would at the same time be powerless to plead that the emperor had trampled on the traditional rights of ministers to expostulate with erring sovereigns.

Chiach'ing was of an indolent disposition, and was incapable of opposing the more violent spirits who disturbed the peace of the empire during the quarter of a century that he sat on the throne. The faults of his father were exaggerated in him, and he had none of those virtues which added luster to the long reign of Ch'ienlung. It is customary for an emperor on ascending the throne to publish an edict containing an obituary notice of his predecessor. The statements contained in such documents are probably no truer than epitaphs generally are, but it is only fair to Chiach'ing that we should glance at the other side of the shield and should listen to what his son, Taokwang, who saved his life on the occasion of the attack of his sacred person in the palace, has to say on behalf of his august father. "His late Majesty," wrote Taokwang, "who has now gone the great journey, governed all under Heaven's canopy during twenty-five years, exercising the utmost caution and industry. Nor evening nor morning was he ever idle. He assiduously aimed at the best possible rule, and hence his government was excellent and illustrious; the court and the country felt the deepest reverence for him, and the stillness of profound awe. A benevolent heart and a benevolent administration were universally diffused; in China proper, as well as beyond it, order and tranquillity prevailed, and the tens of thousands of common people were all happy. But in the midst of the hope that this glorious reign would be long protracted, and the help of Heaven would be received many days, unexpectedly, on descending to bless by his Majesty's presence Lwanyang [in Tartary], the Dragon Charioteer (the holy emperor) became a guest on high."

In 1820 the Emperor Taokwang ascended the throne in pursuance of the will of his father, who to his dying day never forgot that he owed the last seven years of his life to Mienning's courage and skill. That prince, who adopted the title of Taokwang, was born in 1781, and was therefore thirty-nine years of age when he was proclaimed emperor. Though a favorite of his father, he was not a *persona grata* with the ladies of the harem, more especially with the concubine who had succeeded his mother in the imperial dignity. During the lifetime of his mother there had been much ill-blood between these two ladies, and the first empress is said to have died in a paroxysm of rage caused by the aggressive conduct of her successor, who revenged herself on Prince Mienning for the many slights which she had endured by imposing on him all the indignities which it was in her power to inflict.

In early life Taokwang had been passionately devoted to martial exercises, in pursuit of which he is said to have fortified his muscles by taking certain strengthening medicines, which were reputed to have destroyed his teeth and so to have given to his jaw the peculiar character which it possessed. In figure he was tall, lank, and hollow-cheeked, and of a dark complexion. His habits were quiet and retired, and he was not credited with any great talent for business. In after life, however, he proved himself quite capable of holding his own with his ministers. One of his first acts showed his disapproval of the policy of his father, of whose wisdom he had proclaimed himself such an ardent admirer in his edicts. He recalled Sung from his banishment in Ili, and gave notice to quit to the comedians and others to whom Chiach'ing had given such a hospitable welcome in the palace. The members of his father's harem were also sent home to their relatives, and his wife was proclaimed empress.

Unfortunately " the evil that men do lives after them," and the result of Chiach'ing's lax and discreditable rule was to leave a heritage of woe to his successor. Pestilence, famine, and war dogged Taokwang's footsteps, and no more uneasy head ever wore a crown than his. The feeble hand of his predecessor had so weakened the authority of the law that stringent measures had to be adopted for the preservation of peace and order. The same spirit of misrule which he found prevailing in the provinces had extended beyond the frontier into those regions of Mongolia where K'anghsi had fought and conquered. Here the standard of revolt was raised by a chieftain named Jehangir, in the neighborhood of Kashgar, where recruits, tempted by the reported weakness of the Chinese power, flocked readily to his ranks. At first all went well with the rebel, who took and occupied Kashgar, putting the Chinese garrison to the sword. But, as so often had happened in

Chinese campaigns in central Asia, the weight of men and steady perseverance of the Celestials ultimately carried the day, and Jehangir was taken prisoner and sent to Peking. There the traditional fate of all such rebels overtook him, and he was hanged, drawn, and quartered.

It will be remembered that during the reign of K'anghsi the Russian garrison of Albazin had been brought to Peking as prisoners, and had there remained living among the natives of the capital as fellow-citizens. At stated intervals Russia had been in the habit of sending unofficial envoys with sums of money for the maintenance of these colonists. A communication was in this way periodically kept up between these two empires, and was still further fostered by a treaty in 1728 for the establishment of a Russian college at Peking, where students studied for ten years the Chinese and Manchu languages. In the first year of Taokwang's accession a certain Timkowski arrived at Peking on this eleemosynary mission, and though the name of foreigner stank in the nostrils of Taokwang, he was allowed to remain until he had fulfilled his charitable duties. The same tolerance, however, was not extended to the Portuguese officials employed in the astronomical department at Peking, who, though they had been allowed to remain by Chiach'ing, were summarily dismissed by his successor.

Meanwhile, in that hotbed of rebellion, the island of Formosa, disorders broke out and were quelled, though with difficulty, partly by crushing cruelty and partly by the seductive lure of official bribery. By Chinese statesmen the islands and outlying districts of the empire are comparatively lightly esteemed, and it is only when the soil of the eighteen provinces of China proper is tampered with that their patriotism is aroused. With seemingly little effort the Chinese released Formosa and the Pescadores to Japan in 1895, but it might fairly be questioned whether they would not have fought to the death for a single province of the sacred eighteen. So it was on this occasion, and both in Formosa and Hainan, where there were simultaneous outbreaks, the imperial commanders patched up a peace without troubling themselves to attempt to lay the foundations of any lasting tranquillity. But a rising among the Miaotzŭ tribes, which occurred about the same time, was a very different matter. The viceroy of the province of Kwangtung was sent against them, and when he failed through incompetence and cowardice, Hsi An, Taokwang's father-in-law, was ordered to take the field. Fortunately for this chieftain, who neither in a public nor private capacity bore a good character, he was given the immediate command of Hunan troops, the best fighting material in China. With these soldiers he was successful. He harried the Miaotzŭ, burned their villages, and drove the survivors to the mountain tops. The tribes resisted for a time, but at last made their submission, and received from the hands of the conquerors the bitter terms which are commonly meted out to defeated rebels in Oriental lands.

Taokwang was no more fortunate in his private life than he was in his public career. The news of the outbreaks above mentioned reached him at a time when he was suffering from severe domestic bereavement. In 1831 he had to mourn the loss of both his empress and his only son. Accounts differ as to how the latter met his end. That he was a debauched and vicious youth all authorities agree in affirming, and while by some it is said that his death was due to opium smoking, it is also commonly reported that he received his deathblow from his father, who, enraged at his misconduct, raised his hand against him.

During these and other absorbing anxieties Taokwang had little time to pay any attention to the English residents at Canton. They were allowed to pursue the somewhat uneven tenor of their way without incurring any additional penalties from Peking. All their communications with the authorities passed through the hands of a committee of native merchants, known as the Cohong, and any written statement was on compulsion made in the form of a petition. Ladies were forbidden to reside in the settlement, and a permit, costing from $350 to $500, was necessary to enable a merchant to visit his family at Macao, the nearest place where it was possible for ladies and children to live. Notwithstanding these and countless other disabilities, the number of resident merchants steadily increased, and the shipping returns went up with corresponding certainty. It was plain, therefore, that the growing importance of the port would soon render it impossible that the existing state of things could be endured much longer, and an opportunity shortly presented itself of putting matters on a more satisfactory footing.

Chapter VII

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND THE OPIUM WAR WITH ENGLAND. 1834-1850

THE charter of the East India Company, which had been granted by Charles I., was about to expire in April, 1834. The importance of the trade made it impolitic to renew the charter, and the government therefore determined to take over the administration of affairs at Canton. The old order of things must, they felt, pass away, and they decided to emphasize this change by appointing a representative who, it was hoped, would be able to deal directly with the highest provincial authorities. Lord Napier was chosen for this very difficult post, and received a commission from the king dated Brighton, December 10, 1833, in which his "loyalty, integrity, and skill" were justly lauded. With Lord Napier were associated two officials as sub-commissioners. Lord Napier's instructions, which were drafted by Lord Palmerston, were precise. "Your lordship," so they ran, "will announce your arrival at Canton by letters to the viceroy. In addition to the duty of protecting and fostering trade at Canton, it will be one of your principal objects to ascertain whether it may not be practicable to extend that trade to other parts of the Chinese dominions. It is obvious that with a view to the attainment of this object the establishment of direct communication with the court of Peking would be most desirable."

Lord Napier's course was therefore laid plainly before him, and on arriving on the China coast he proceeded at once direct to Canton. At this act of presumption, as it was described, the mandarins were furious, and so serious a view did the superintendent of customs take of it, that he proposed to the viceroy that the foreign trade of the port should be suspended in consequence. The viceroy on his part refused to receive Lord Napier's letter announcing his arrival, and justified his conduct by stating that the great ministers of the empire were forbidden to hold communication with Barbarians except on certain specified subjects. Hitherto, so argued the officials, the leading Englishman had been a Taipan, or head merchant, and there never had been such a thing as a correspondence to and fro with a " Barbarian Eye " (minister). The attitude thus assumed by the local authorities was highly commended by the viceroy, who considered that it manifested " a profound knowledge of the great principles of dignity."

The juncture at which Lord Napier arrived was an unfortunate one. The government had been much alarmed at the drain of silver consequent on the foreign trade, more especially in opium, and a report had lately been made to the throne that 60,000,000 taels were annually lost to the empire by the foreign connection. Already there had grown up a pronounced opposition to the opium trade on the part of some of the highest officials, and during the reign of Chiach'ing more than one memorial had been presented to the throne proclaiming the evils which were supposed to result from the use of the drug. But however strong the feelings of individuals on the subject might be, interests were at work which militated against any direct action toward prohibiting the traffic. The use of the pipe had spread to almost every yamên in the empire, and already large areas of the country were devoted to the cultivation of the poppy. In the province of Yunnan several thousands of chests of opium were produced annually, and in other provinces vast tracts were sown with poppy seeds. The drug had thus taken a hold upon the nation, and it moderates our views as to the injurious nature of opium when we observe that after so many years the evils arising from it are so difficult to trace. But at the time when the charter of the East India Company was abolished, there was another and a stronger reason why the local authorities at Canton and elsewhere were either openly or privately in favor of the continuance of the traffic. During the reign of Chiach'ing opium was recognized as an article of trade, and paid duty at the rate of three taels per hundred catties.[1]

Subsequently, however, the trade had been declared illegal, and as it was plainly impossible to prevent the importation of the drug, a wide door was opened for the energy and daring of smugglers. These men were tacitly recognized by the local mandarins, who drew large, though irregular, incomes in return for their benevolent inaction. The natural result followed. While occasional censors exposed possible and impossible evils of opium smoking, and while the emperor fulminated edicts against the practice, the officials

[1] One catty equals one and one-third pounds.

throughout the country, from the highest to the lowest, countenanced the importation of the "foreign dirt"; and in inland districts, where it was difficult to obtain supplies from the coast, native farmers profitably supplied the officials and people with the means of indulging in the pipe.

But though these influences led, in the face of imperial edicts, to a continuance of the opium traffic, the supercilious conceit of the government induced them to put a stop to the legitimate trade of the port as a protest against what they were good enough to call the highly improper conduct of Lord Napier in forcing his way to Canton without having given due notice of his approach. The minister and his countrymen were, in consequence, kept virtually prisoners within the limits of the foreign settlement. The native servants in their employ deserted them, and the boatmen refused to carry either them or their goods. In this way matters came to a deadlock, and the viceroy had the further insolence to issue a notice containing a series of regulations designed for the management of the "Outer Barbarians." Among these ordinances was one forbidding ships of war to sail into the inner seas of the empire; another prohibited foreigners from "stealthily transporting muskets and cannon, or clandestinely bringing up foreign women or foreign sailors"; and yet another proclaimed that idly rambling about beyond the limits of the settlement could not be allowed for a moment. To this and other such documents Lord Napier deemed it advisable to utter a counter blast, and in a public notice to the Chinese merchants he wrote: "The merchants of Great Britain wish to trade with all China on principles of mutual benefit; they will never relax in their exertions till they gain the point of equal importance to both countries, and the viceroy will find it as easy to stop the current of the Canton River as to carry into effect the insane determinations of the Hong."

In this stress of circumstances and anxieties Lord Napier's health most unfortunately gave way, and he retired to Macao for rest and further medical advice. His departure from Canton was regarded as a triumph by the mandarins, who at once signalized the event by removing the embargo on trade. Unfortunately the change from Canton to Macao was too late to save Lord Napier's life, and he died there on October 11, 1834. Meanwhile, the British merchants at Canton had presented a petition to the British Government, praying that steps might be taken effectively to open the Chinese Empire to trade, and to place the foreign communities on terms of equality with the merchants of the country. This document was firmly and judiciously worded. The writers recognized the unwarrantable pretensions of the Chinese Government, and even more the folly of attempting to propitiate the officials by yielding to their demands.

In response to this document Captain Elliot was appointed in 1836 to take up the duties vacated by the death of Lord Napier. On arriving at Macao he communicated with the governor of Canton, announcing his arrival, and asking for the usual permit for admission to the provincial capital. But though the mandarins readily gave this permission, as they fully recognized the advantage of having a representative of the merchants with whom they could negotiate, they were yet in no way disposed to recognize Captain Elliot as anything more than a superior supercargo, and chose to insist that all communications from him should be in the form of *Pin,* or petitions. This claim was clearly inadmissible, and as Captain Elliot insisted on his right to use the forms commonly employed among civilized nations, matters came once more to a deadlock. Seeing that nothing would be gained by remaining at Canton, Captain Elliot retired to Macao; all trade was then stopped, and the merchants who chose to remain in the settlement were confined within its limits.

Meanwhile a brisk discussion was carried on in the pages of the *Peking Gazette* on the vexed question of the opium trade. It was strongly held that it was impossible to prevent the importation of the drug, and that an advantage would be derived on all sides by legalizing the traffic. The evils of smuggling were further enlarged upon by these advocates, and, as was afterward argued by Lord Elgin when making the treaty of 1858, it was put forward that it would be far better to place the trade under official control than that it should be carried on by illicit means amid scenes of violence and strife. The opponents of this statesmanlike suggestion broke out into wild oratory against the evils of the habit, and affirmed that the English had deliberately introduced the "foreign dirt" into the country for the purpose of so debilitating the people as to leave them incapable of resisting the demands of the "Outer Barbarians." This line of argument was only another version of a remark made by the Emperor K'anghsi long before the question of opium had arisen, namely, that "there was cause for apprehension lest, in the centuries or millenniums to come, China may be endangered by collisions with the various nations of the West, who come hither from beyond the seas."

The opium question was, as events fully demonstrated, only used by the officials as a convenient weapon with which to attack the foreigner. The refusal of the governor to receive communications from Captain Elliot except in the form of petitions; the ridiculous regulations which he laid down for the management of the merchants at Canton; and the sumptuary laws which it was attempted to enact for their guidance—all point to the real object of the mandarins, which was to drive the obnoxious foreigner out of the country. There was something particularly hypocritical in the horror professed by the mandarins at the continuance of the opium traffic, when we call to mind that along the entire coast-line of China from Canton to Tientsin the drug was smuggled openly by the officials and others; and that it was only in Canton and the neighborhood that any attempt was ever made to check the practice. The mandarins made much of the number of foreign schooners which landed opium along the coast. But these, compared with the native customs cruisers and other vessels which performed the same service, were in number as one to many thousands. While the governor at Canton was professing righteous indignation at the villainy of the English opium traders it was an open secret that his own son was daily smuggling cargoes in official vessels within his father's jurisdiction. Our sympathy with the protestors is seriously diminished by this evident insincerity, and by the consideration that, though, according to them, the practice of opium smoking had become general throughout the empire, the energy of the merchants, the scholarship of the *Literati,* and the industry of the people, remained unabated. As we have already seen, Taokwang's son was a habitual opium smoker, and it would have been more to the purpose if, instead of emptying all the vials of his wrath on the heads of the foreigners, the emperor had employed real and vigorous measures against the practice which he denounced, against the smuggling of the drug by natives, and against the cultivation of the poppy which was already largely engaging the attention of native farmers.

It is difficult under the circumstances to regard the professions of the anti-opium Chinese as being genuine and there is probability that the government deliberately chose to make a stalking horse of the trade for the purpose of effectively exciting popular feeling against foreigners. In pursuance of this policy, Taokwang appointed Commissioner Lin to proceed to Canton with orders to legislate on all questions in dispute between the local officials and the "Outer Barbarians." Within a week of his arrival, Lin, with that impetuosity which distinguished him, issued a peremptory order to the foreign merchants, over whom he had of course no control, charging them to deliver up all the opium in their possession. So powerless were the traders, and so long had they been habituated to the dictatorial and violent methods of the Chinese, that they were induced to surrender over a thousand chests of the drug, in response to the emperor's demand. This quantity was promptly declared to be insufficient by the commissioner, who, at the same time, sent a message to one of the leading merchants named Dent, asking him to meet him for consultation at one of the city gates. Former experience had shown that to yield to such an invitation was simply to place the guest in the hands of the mandarins as a prisoner and a hostage, and Dent, therefore, naturally declined to venture into Lin's clutches unless that official would give him a written guarantee that he would be allowed to return at pleasure to the settlement. Fortunately the commissioner had sufficient honesty to decline to pledge his word with the deliberate intention of breaking it, and Dent refused to place himself in a position of so much danger. Although it was now plainly impossible that the relations between the two countries could be continued on peaceable lines, Captain Elliot returned to Canton in the vain hope of being able to arrange a *modus vivendi.* His reappearance on the scene caused much excitement among the officials, and orders were instantly given to beleaguer the foreign settlement. The narrow lanes and outlets leading into the city were walled up; all communication with the outer world on the land side was cut off; and steps were taken to prevent foreign vessels from leaving the anchorage. The position was one which might well have been brought to a head by a more determined and resourceful man than Captain Elliot, to whom the only remedy which presented itself was that of yielding to the Chinese demands. With unfortunate acquiescence he issued a proclamation ordering the English merchants to deliver up the supplies of opium in their possession. Recognizing the weakness of the opponent with whom he had to deal, Lin had further the progressive assurance to publish a notification stating that so soon as one-fourth of the opium was handed over, the servants who had been ordered to desert the settlement should be allowed to return to their foreign masters; that when half was given up the passage boats should again be made available; and that when three-quarters had been surrendered, trade should be resumed. He further threatened that if these conditions were not complied with within three days the supply of fresh water would be cut off, that in yet another three days all food would be denied to the merchants, and that the last degree of severity would attend a further delay.

In these circumstances and in obedience to Captain Elliot's circular 20,283 chests of the drug were handed over to the Chinese authorities by British merchants. As long experience has shown, to yield to Chinese bluster entails only the advance of still further demands, and the infliction of still greater indignities. In the present instance Lin rewarded Captain Elliot's complacency by claiming the right to punish Europeans for crimes committed on Chinese soil, and expressed the greatest indignation when, after a sailors' riot in which one or two Chinese lost their lives, his demand to have the English disturbers of the peace handed over to him was refused. The unwarrantable tone which he had taken up from the first made it hopeless to attempt to carry on relations with him, and he further provoked war by calling on his countrymen to arm themselves against the foreigners. The inevitable result was not long delayed, and on November 3, 1839, a naval engagement was fought at Chuanpi, in which a number of Chinese junks were sunk and destroyed.

This event in no way shook Lin's faith in himself and his countrymen, and with hardened assurance he issued a proclamation in which he claimed to possess such an intimate knowledge of the divine intentions that he was able to announce that the imperial dynasty continued to repose under the direct protection of Heaven, and that all those who should be presumptuous enough to oppose its will would inevitably be overtaken by Celestial vengeance. Events which were now hurrying on must have convinced him, if he had been capable of reasoning, that at all events the god of battles was on the side of the big ships of the enemies of his master. But not only had Lin's policy been unfortunate in bringing defeats on the Chinese, but his commercial strategy had had exactly the opposite result to that which was intended. The destruction of the foreign opium at Canton led to a vigorous revival of the trade, smugglers multiplied, and the traffic flourished as it had never flourished before, in spite of the fact that three native victims were sacrificed on the altar of Lin's patriotism.

In the summer of 1841 Sir Gordon Bremer, the English admiral, blockaded Canton, and then sailed northward to attack Tinghai, the chief town on the island of Chusan. The result was an engagement such as has become typical. The defense of the fortifications was little more than momentary, and under cover of night the garrison took to their heels. From Ningpo the fleet sailed to Taku at the mouth of the Peiho, where Captain Elliot was met by Kishên, the governor general of Chihli. This mandarin was one of the leading officials in the empire, and his career is so suggestive of the vicissitudes which attend Oriental administrators that it is worth relating. The son of an official who obeyed Ch'ienlung, he was given an appointment when barely twenty years of age. Seven years later he was made secretary to a provincial governor; and at the age of forty he was appointed viceroy of Szech'uan, and in 1830 he was promoted to the viceroyalty of the metropolitan province. So far his fortunes had been in the ascendant, but reverses quickly followed. When, as will be shortly seen, Lin was disgraced, Kishên was sent as commissioner to Canton with the additional office of viceroy of the two Kwang provinces. Foreign policy has in many cases been the rock upon which the careers of Chinese statesmen have been wrecked. And it was so with Kishên, who so deeply incurred the anger of his imperial master that he was sent in chains to Peking, there to answer for his crimes. After a formal trial he was condemned to hard labor in the province of Ili, and to the confiscation of his property. This last penalty was a cruel blow to the offender, for, like many mandarins who have been long officeholders, he had great possessions. Years afterward the imperial wrath was so far mitigated that a partial pardon was granted to him, and he was later appointed to the office of assistant resident at Yarkand.

His association with Captain Elliot at Taku was the first step toward his fall, although at the moment he unquestionably gained a temporary advantage over his opponent. The arrival of the fleet at the mouth of the Peiho had alarmed the court, and Kishên's first object was to induce Captain Elliot to relieve the imperial fears by returning to Canton. With the same mistaken complacency which had induced the English minister to listen to Lin's commands, he complied on this occasion with Kishên's wishes, and without having advanced matters in the least degree he agreed to sail southward, and once more to discuss negotiations on the familiar ground at Canton. There matters had been going from bad to worse. Lin had been devoting his energies to raising troops and preparing to defend the city against all comers. He had issued fiery proclamations offering liberal rewards for any Englishman brought in dead or alive, and for any vessel which the troops might chance to capture. A native army which had been collected near Macao had been attacked and dispersed with ease and rapidity by a small British force, and a state of active warfare had been brought about. Such were the results of the impertinent bluster with which the now disappointed commissioner had attempted to influence the political situation. The news of the unfortunate state of affairs existing in the south no sooner reached Peking than Taokwang ordered Lin to return to Peking " with the speed of flames." With justice the emperor wrote to him: " You have but dissembled with empty words, and so far from having been any help in the affair you have caused the waves of confusion to arise, and a thousand interminable disorders are sprouting; in fact, you have been as if your arms were tied, without knowing what to do; it appears, then, that you are no better than a wooden image."

The change of *venue* to Canton was at first unproductive of any good results in the negotiations. The terror which had inclined the emperor to sanction discussions when the British fleet was at the mouth of the Peiho changed into bluster and self-sufficiency when the whole length of the empire separated him from his hated foes, and it was not until Sir Gordon Bremer had taken several forts leading to Canton that Kishên at last consented to treat for peace. After the manner of all his tribe he yielded at once and completely to pressure, and agreed, with protestations of sincerity, to accept Captain Elliot's proposals for a convention. These were that the Island of Hongkong should be ceded to the British crown, that an indemnity of six million dollars should be paid in consideration of the opium destroyed, that official intercourse should be conducted between English and Chinese officials on terms of international equality, and that the trade with the British at Canton should at once be resumed. It was further agreed that on the fulfillment of these conditions the Island of Chusan and the fort of Chuanpi should be restored to China, and that at the same time the English prisoners at Ningpo should be granted their liberty. Among these unfortunates was Captain Anstruther, R. A., who had been kidnaped at Chusan and carried off to Ningpo, where he had been imprisoned in a cage. Fortunately these captives were eventually released, though the treaty which had been agreed to by Kishên was torn up by the emperor's orders. At this time the position of foreigners at Canton was well-nigh unendurable. All trade was stopped, the merchants were strictly confined to the foreign settlement and any attempt to cross the boundaries of that narrow territory was accompanied by risk to life and limb. Even without this indiscretion their liberty was in jeopardy. The English chaplain, for instance, was seized in the settlement and carried off to the native city, where he was imprisoned in a loathsome cell for four months.

Meanwhile the emperor was breathing out death and slaughter against the "foreign devils." By a special edict he ordered troops to march upon Canton and Chusan, accompanying his commands with strict injunctions that they were to "destroy and wipe clean away, to exterminate and root out, the rebellious barbarians," and at the same time rewards of $50,000 were offered for the capture of Captain Elliot, Sir Gordon Bremer, and a Mr. Morrison. In these circumstances Captain Elliot saw only one course open to him. Diplomacy had failed, and all that was left for him to do was to place the matter in Commodore Bremer's hands. That officer at once attacked the Bogue forts, which had already suffered capture at the hands of British sailors on several occasions. In this case the operation was repeated with ease, although three thousand Chinese soldiers stood for the defense of the position. With the same agility as that they displayed in the late war with Japan, the Chinese soldiers no sooner found their forts untenable than they took to their heels. On the following day the fleet proceeded up the river, and as they had done to the Bogue forts, so did they to the fortifications which lie in the higher reaches in the neighborhood of the city.

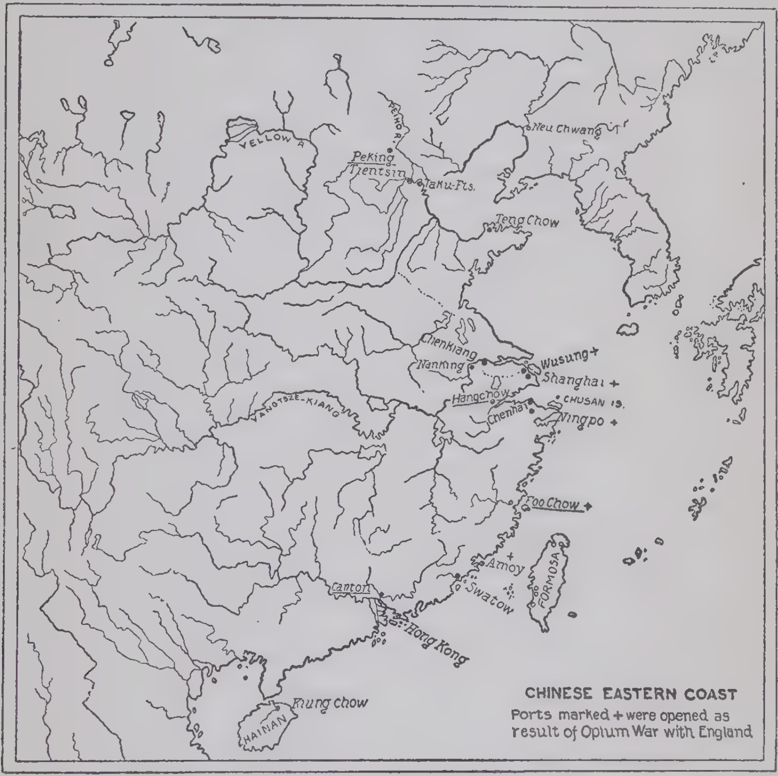
These rapid successes disturbed the Chinese complacency, and as a symptom and a consequence of this perturbation, the prefect of the city met the advancing hosts with a flag of truce, which covered a petition for a three days' suspension of hostilities. This was granted, and as no satisfactory arrangement resulted from it, the fleet moved up still nearer to Canton, capturing without the slightest difficulty every fort and camp on the way. This further advance again drew the prefect, who appeared with the familiar white flag, and who again secured a truce, during which it was arranged that the trade of the port should be carried on as usual. The breathing time thus given to the Chinese was diligently utilized by them in collecting forces and materials in the vain hope of being able to overwhelm the Barbarians. The most redoubtable troops of the empire were hurried by forced marches to Canton, and the appetite of the men for foreign blood was sharpened by an imperial edict, in which the emperor stated that it "behooved them to make a severe example of the foreign devils."

Kishên, who up to this time had shown a conciliatory spirit in his negotiations with Captain Elliot, adopted, probably from policy, the tone of his imperial master, and memorialized the throne in a paper in which he spoke of the "perverse craftiness of the presuming foreigners who have shown themselves to be obstinate and impracticable in every way." By his instigation there were collected by the middle of May, 1841, in the neighborhood of Canton, fifty thousand troops, most of whom, however, were comparatively innocuous, being unarmed. The attitude of the people, however, now became so threatening that Captain Elliot directed all foreigners to provide for their safety by leaving the settlement. This proceeding precipitated matters, and the Chinese, who had made ample preparations for an onslaught, immediately opened a night attack upon the British fleet. Sir Hugh Gough, who had taken command of the troops, and Sir Fleming Senhouse, the newly arrived admiral, at once took matters in hand, and promptly prepared to meet the emergency by investing the city. The Chinese made a show of resistance to the attacking force, but declined coming to close quarters, and eventually bargained to ransom the city on the following terms: They agreed to pay down $6,000,000 and they undertook that the three imperial commissioners who had been sent to annihilate the "foreign devils" should march with their troops to a distance of sixty miles from the city; that they should pay compensation for the property which had been looted from the factories; and that the Chinese troops should evacuate the city.

The maintenance of a permanent peace had now become impossible, and the English Government, deeming it essential that the present very unsatisfactory condition of things should be finally put an end to, appointed Sir Henry Pottinger to succeed Captain Elliot as minister, and Admiral Sir William Parker to take command of the fleet. Pottinger's instructions were precise. He was ordered to discard the existing system of dealing with the provincial authorities, and to open relations with the imperial government. The attitude, however, of the emperor and his ministers at this juncture was not such as to make it at all probable that they would be disposed to listen to reason, and it at once became apparent that it would be necessary to teach them wisdom by the hard hand of experience. Without wasting time with empty negotiations, therefore, Sir Henry placed matters in the hands of the admiral, who, realizing that to go northward was to approach the court, set sail on August 21, 1842. The first point of attack was the city of Amoy, which yielded in the ready way in which towns garrisoned by Chinese troops are in the habit of submitting to superior forces.

After leaving a small garrison to hold the captured fort, the fleet sailed for the island of Chusan, and proceeded at once to take the town of Tinghai. In two hours from the firing of the first shot the town was in English hands, and the admiral and general were at liberty to sail across to the mainland to attack Chênhai (Chinhai). The British troops having landed from the ships, marched on this city in three columns, and the Chinese, having been unwise enough to venture out from the protection of their walls, were without any difficulty scattered to the four winds of heaven. The Chinese generals, in their ignorance, had deemed this place to be so strong that any attack made on it by the English barbarians would, in their opinion, be doomed to disaster. The result, therefore, came as such a surprise to Yukien, the viceroy of the province, that in order to avoid the personal consequences of his imperial master's displeasure he committed suicide. The feeling of compassion with which we should otherwise be inclined to regard the end of Yukien's career is mitigated by the recollection of the extreme brutality with which he treated two English prisoners, one of whom was by his orders flayed alive and then burned to death.

The possession of Chênhai was important as opening the way to the large and populous city of Ningpo, whither Sir Hugh Gough at once advanced. To his surprise he found the town practically undefended, and occupied its defenses without being called upon to strike a blow. In the first instance the arrival of the English alarmed the people to such an extent that they carried off into the surrounding country their valuables and women concealed in baskets, and receptables of all kinds, including coffins. When, however, it became evident that the ways of civilized warfare were not as their ways, the remaining people gladly opened their shops, and eagerly competed for the privilege and advantage of supplying the enemies' troops with the necessaries of life. The news of these disasters—the fall of Amoy, Tinghai, Chênhai, and Ningpo—produced great alarm at court, and two high officials, Ilipu (Elepoo) and Kiying were imperially commissioned to provide for the defenses of the rich and important city of Hangchow, near Ningpo. It so happened, however, that it did not enter into Sir Hugh Gough's plan of campaign to inter-



CHINESE EASTERN COAST
Ports marked + were opened as result of Opium War with England

fere with the commissioners in their very comfortable quarters, and instead of marching on Hangchow he moved northward, and, in passing, took the city of Tzuki on his way to Wusung, at the mouth of the Shanghai River. Here again the same condition of things that had prevailed at Chênhai and Ningpo were found to exist. Considering the defenses of Wusung as impregnable, it had been deemed quite unnecessary to fortify Shanghai, and so soon, therefore, as the English troops had driven the Chinese from the ramparts of Wusung, Shanghai lay at their mercy.

But it was plain that though these successes had created alarm at Peking, it would be necessary to advance further inland in order to bring sufficient pressure to soften the hardened heart of the emperor, Taokwang. Sir Henry Pottinger, therefore, directed the commanders to advance up the Yang-tsze-kiang to Nanking, the ancient capital of the empire. In the course of this expedition it was considered indispensable to capture the important town of Chênkiang (Chinkiang), which stands on the southern shore of the Great River at a distance of about seventy miles from Nanking. This town was strongly walled and fortified, and was further protected by entrenched camps outside the city. The garrison within the town consisted of twelve hundred Manchu soldiers, eight hundred Mongols, and about the same number of Chinese troops, while the encampments were held by three thousand men from the neighboring provinces. The bombardment of the walls not effecting a breach as was anticipated, the soldiers placed scaling ladders against the walls and swarmed onto the top. At first the Chinese showed a certain amount of courage in defending the city, but, quite in accordance with their usual manner, they no sooner felt that they were overpowered than they scattered in all directions. On this occasion the loss of life was terrible. Not only were the Chinese soldiers mowed down by British troops, but thousands of them committed suicide, while whole families were ruthlessly murdered to prevent their falling into the hands of the English. The scenes witnessed were heartrending. The houses were full of the dead and dying, and the wells were choked with the bodies of women and children who had either thrown themselves in, or been thrown in to save them from capture.

On the opposite side of the river stands the town of Iching, which was visited in advance by one of the ships of the fleet. On becoming aware, in answer to inquiries, that the commander had no intention of bombarding the town, the people vied with each other in showing attentions to the foreign devils, and actually, while the magistrate and magnates were entertaining the English captain and officers at dinner the sound of the guns which were dealing out death and destruction at Chênkiang broke in on the feast, without in any way disturbing the revelers. So complete is the absence of all patriotic feeling among the strange people of "that jest and riddle of the world" China! With no undue delay before Chênkiang the fleet continued its voyage to Nanking, opposite which it arrived on August 9, and whither the imperial commissioners Ilipu and Kiying hastened to meet the English plenipotentiary. Niu Kien, the viceroy of the province, had already had some experience of English soldiers and sailors. He had saved his life by a rapid strategic movement to the rear when Wusung had fallen, but even after this incident he was still disposed to regard with contempt the "rebel" troops of England, and professed himself determined to defend Nanking to the last gasp. The appearance of the fleet before the walls, however, had a modifying effect on his warlike ardor.

Fortunately, also, in the cause of peace Kiying and Ilipu quickly appeared on the scene, and in company with Niu Kien formed a triumvirate to whom the emperor had intrusted the conduct of the negotiations. In reply to a preliminary report of these officials, the emperor issued a decree full of lofty platitudes and condescending phrases, but which to all intents and purposes amounted to a full concurrence in the views they had expressed on the necessity of making peace. Ilipu from the first had worked in the cause of amity, and had on previous occasions shown his good will by giving liberty to English captives who had fallen into his hands. With these plenipotentiaries Sir Henry Pottinger immediately opened negotiations, and the weariness of the discussions which followed were pleasantly diversified by a series of entertainments, which were given by the high-contracting parties. Finally, after some delay, a treaty was concluded by which it was fairly hoped that a firm and durable peace might be established between the two empires. By the terms of this document it was agreed that the four additional ports of Amoy, Foochow Foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai should be open to trade, that Hongkong should be ceded to the British crown in perpetuity, and that the sum of $21,000,000 should be paid to the victors in the war—

$6,000,000 as the value of opium which Lin had destroyed at Canton, $3,000,000 on account of debts due to British subjects, and another $12,000,000 on account of expenses incurred. The treaty was signed on August 29, 1842, and though in the negotiations the Chinese had displayed a conciliatory spirit, they at the same time made no attempt to conceal their desire to get rid of the Barbarians' ships from the inner waters of the empire. Indeed, in the edict already spoken of, the emperor had issued an order "that the whole of the Barbarian vessels were to leave the Great River by September 14." To secure this end it was necessary that there should be no delay in ratifying the treaty at Peking, and with unexampled celerity the document was dispatched to the capital, received the imperial signature, and returned to Nanking. The date fixed by the emperor for the departure of the ships was, however, somewhat exceeded, and it was not until the end of October that the fleet once more assembled off Tinghai in Chusan. This island was to be held as a security for the indemnity due, and a garrison of two thousand men was left for its defense. A further force of one thousand men was stationed at Amoy, and Hongkong was protected by seventeen hundred troops.

China is such an immense and dislocated country that events which occur in one portion of its domain in no way necessarily affect the remaining provinces. Thus it was that while the British forces had taken city after city in central China, and a treaty of peace had been concluded between the two empires, affairs in Canton remained unaffected by the war, and unpacified by the peace. Riots were, both before and after the treaty, of frequent occurrence, the city remained forbidden ground for foreigners, and large levies of militia were collected in the neighborhood with the avowed intention of driving the foreigners into the sea. By a happy chance Ilipu, after the conclusion of the treaty at Nanking, was sent as imperial commissioner to this unruly district. The experience he had gained in the central provinces as to the superiority of foreign methods of warfare led him to recognize the folly of the anti-foreign efforts that were being made by the local officials. Belonging to the imperial kindred, and having won laurels in his kinsman's service, he was enabled to take a strong line on this occasion, and he did not hesitate therefore to issue a proclamation in which he announced that "it has now been arranged by treaty with England that . . . as long as English foreigners live quietly, and attend to their business, our people may not disturb or molest them." Unhappily Ilipu did not live long enough to consolidate the friendly *régime* which he had inaugurated. His health was failing when he reached Canton, and on March 4, 1843, he died, in the seventy-second year of his age.

In distant Formosa the anti-foreign feeling had been conscious of no such check as that it had thus received at Canton, and Sir Henry Pottinger was met on his triumphant return to Hongkong with the dispiriting news that upward of a hundred British sailors had been ruthlessly beheaded by the island authorities. Inquiries confirmed the truth of the report, and the few survivors who escaped the fate of their comrades bore pathetic witness to a dismal tale of intense cruelty on the one hand and of courageous endurance on the other. Sir Henry Pottinger at once demanded reparation for this wrong, and Iliang, the governor of Chehkiang, was sent as imperial commissioner to investigate the circumstances. Iliang who, like Ilipu, was of the imperial kindred, took a reasonable view of the situation, and through his instrumentality the Formosan officials who had authorized the massacre were degraded, and sent to Peking for punishment.

The treaty having been concluded, there remained only for Sir Henry Pottinger to arrange the regulations of trade. This was no easy task, as the Chinese in their usual manner, having agreed to the terms of treaty, devoted all their energies to whittling away its provisions. At length, after much discussion, and no little active diplomacy, the task was completed in July, 1843, and in the following June Sir Henry sailed for England, leaving to his successor, Sir John Davis, the management of affairs.

The new plenipotentiary soon found that in accepting the office of superintendent of trade he had entered upon a sea of troubles. At Canton the officials and people still gratified their hatred of foreigners by offering them continued and constant insults. They had been so long accustomed to tyrannize over the foreign devils, and to consider that their existence at Canton depended only on favor, and had no relation to right, that they were quite unable to accommodate themselves to the new order of things as laid down by the treaty. They declined to recognize the exterritorial clauses, and on the occasion of a Chinese subject being accidentally killed by an Englishman they demanded that the slayer should be given up to the tender mercies of Chinese justice.

This, of course, was refused, and the opportune arrival of Kiying served to suppress the popular ferment which was rapidly approaching the point of danger. Following the conclusion of the Treaty at Nanking, a minister from France and later one from America appeared at Canton to negotiate with Kiying treaties for their respective countries. Under the sobering influence of Kiying's arrival and these negotiations, matters for a time proceeded more quietly at Canton, and the new ports were opened to trade without let or hindrance. It was once said to the writer by a Frenchman who was comparing the position of his countrymen with that of the English in China, "We come to China with our ideas, you with your merchandise." One form which French ideas have ever taken in China has been the furtherance of the Roman Catholic religion, and the first prominent step taken by Louis Philippe's representative was to urge on the imperial government the propriety of restoring churches and buildings which in preceding years had been destroyed by fanatical mobs. With a consideration which, so far as it went, was admirable, the emperor granted this request, but accompanied his concession by peremptorily forbidding foreign missionaries from further propagating the doctrines of their faith.

The prostration which has always afflicted China after a foreign war has in most cases, as is natural, been instrumental in encouraging the turbulent and disaffected portions of the people to riot and rebellion. Thus the secret societies which had been crushed for the time being by the vigorous hand of Ch'ienlung began again to gather strength after the war of 1842. The Triad Society, which was destined to be productive of the T'aip'ing Rebellion, became actively aggressive, and with its well-known motto, "Dethrone the Ch'ings and restore the Mings," led a rebellion which broke out in the southern and central provinces of the empire. The example set by this society was followed by the "White Lily" sect in northern China, and at the same time, and probably from the same cause, the Mohammedans in distant Kashgaria broke out into revolt against the "Son of Heaven." With promptitude and vigor Taokwang dispatched troops to meet these several emergencies, and we cannot but wonder at the inefficiency of the different rebel forces when we recollect that they were conquered and suppressed by troops armed only with bows and arrows, or with the scarcely more formidable jingals and spears. However, the fact has to be acknowledged that the several victories were complete, and so comparatively potent became the commands of the emperor, even in farthest central Asia, that at his word twelve thousand families submitted to transportation from their native Kashgaria to the province of Ili.

"It is difficult work being a mandarin nowadays," once remarked a high Chinese official, and certainly in the forties it was no light task to hold office at the treaty ports. At Canton difficulties were constantly arising, and a brutal assault on a party of Englishmen when on a visit to the neighboring town of Fatshan brought matters to a climax at this port. Sir John Davis, considering that a standing protest against such conduct should be made once and for all, requested the admiral and general commanding to make reprisals at the source of the mischief. With admirable promptitude the commanders led their forces up the Canton River, and having once again captured the Bogue forts and the other defenses in the way, took up a position opposite the city walls. In his memorial to the throne on this occasion Kiying expressed his supreme surprise at the appearance of the British force, and complained of the tone and attitude adopted by the English plenipotentiary. But though thus protesting, he considered it wise to yield to Sir John Davis's demands, and definitely agreed that the city of Canton should be opened to foreigners in two years' time from that date (April 6, 1847); that Englishmen should be at liberty to roam for exercise or amusement in the neighborhood of the city; that a church should be erected, and that a site should be granted for building purposes on the opposite side of the river. At about the same time a somewhat similar outrage occurred at Shanghai. Three missionaries who had visited a town in the vicinity were attacked by a number of junkmen belonging to the vessels which were anchored at the port. Consul Alcock (afterwards Sir Rutherford Alcock) at once demanded reparation for the outrage, and not receiving it, requested the captain of the British frigate *Childers* to prevent all or any of the fourteen hundred grain-junks and fifty war-junks, then about to sail for Peking, from leaving the anchorage until the culprits should be given up. Commander Pitman was equal to the occasion, and with his single ship held this vast fleet in check. Meanwhile Alcock dispatched Parkes (afterward Sir Harry) to Nanking to lay before the viceroy a formal complaint. The effect of these measures was immediate.

The rioters were seized and punished, reparation was made, and the lesson was duly taken to heart by the natives, who for years afterward showed a friendly attitude toward Europeans. The English Government of the day disapproved of Davis's action at Canton, fearing the outbreak of another war, but Alcock escaped censure. It is unquestionable that Sir John Davis's action was precipitate, and might in other circumstances have been conducive to a breach of the peace. But it is to be remembered that he was dealing with old offenders, and with men of a turbulent and unruly spirit. The Shanghai people, on the contrary, are, as a rule, peaceable, and in this case, as the result showed, Alcock's more constitutional treatment of the affair was crowned with complete success. But similar action under like circumstances at Canton would have been as futile as diplomatic pressure without the mailed fist has always been.

The governor of Canton at the time was the redoubtable Yeh, who, after acting in opposition to foreigners for ten or twelve years, was made prisoner by the English officer, Sir Harry Parkes, and ended his days as an exile in Calcutta. Under the influence of this man things went from bad to worse within his jurisdiction. Like most Chinamen, he had no idea of administration in its truest sense. His one remedy for all political offenses was the execution ground. Popular rights he ignored with even more than Chinese indifference, and thus aroused a spirit of antagonism among his subjects which made itself felt in every part of the province. Pirates swept the coast, seizing on every merchant junk which they encountered, until from the coast of Tongking to the neighborhood of Foochow merchants ventured on voyages at the risk of their lives and goods. In the interior of the province the Triad Society spread its noxious branches, and at the port of Macao the anti-foreign feeling of the people found vent in the murder of the governor, Signor Amaral. The people within the city still showed a determined opposition to admitting foreigners within their gates, and unfortunately found support for their antagonism from the emperor himself, who proclaimed in an edict: "That to which the hearts of the people incline is that on which the decree of Heaven rests. Now the people of Kwangtung are unanimous and determined that they will not have foreigners enter the city, and how can I post up everywhere my imperial order, and force an opposite course upon the people?" These utterances were quite sufficient to stiffen the backs of the Cantonese, and encouraged the inhabitants of other towns to enforce the same exclusive policy. Near Canton stands the town of Hwangchukki, which has always borne an evil repute for violence. Supported by the emperor's apparent approval, the natives of this place determined to emphasize their adherence to the policy of the provincial capital whenever occasion should arise. They had not long to wait. On an ill-fated day six Englishmen made an excursion to the smaller city. The mob at once rose, and with brutal violence murdered them all. This was an outrage which might well have led to a renewal of hostilities, and probably would have done so had Yeh been in supreme command. The imperial commissioner Kiying, however, was still on the spot, and with wise and immediate action ordered the capture of the offenders, who in due course were tried at Canton and beheaded for their crime.

In a country such as China there is always a certain amount of discontent floating about which needs but the appearance of a leader to crystallize it into a body ready for action. As we have seen already, there had long been a feeling of more than ordinary unrest among the Cantonese, and there now arose a man who was destined to give expression to the prevailing disloyalty, and in the course of his exploits to shake the empire to its very base. In a village in the neighborhood of Canton there was born of a Hakka, or emigrant family, a youth possessing the name of Hung Hsiuts'uan, who, being endowed with abilities, and with a considerable amount of ambition, desired to place his foot on the rungs of the official ladder. With this object in view he studied the way-worn classics of his country, and presented himself at Canton as a candidate for examination. But the fates were against him, and his failure is attributed by some to the fact of his parentage —the Hakkas being looked upon as a pariah class—and by others to his want of scholarship. On the occasion of his first visit to the provincial capital in 1833 he chanced to meet an evangelist, who interested him for the time being, but whose doctrines soon lost all salutary effect upon him. Four years later, however, he again appeared as a candidate, and again met the Scripture reader, to whose teachings, as was subsequently proved, he listened attentively. Returning to his home for the second time unsuccessful, he fell ill with what appeared likely to prove a fatal malady. As he tossed upon his bed in his delirium he saw many strange and weird visions. He listened to the music of the spheres. He was visited by ominous beasts, and he had a vision of the Almighty, who entered his room and placed a sword in his hand, with which he commanded him to exterminate the ruling powers, at the same time foretelling that there lay a great future before him. For forty days he remained in this delirious condition, and at the end of that time he arose endowed with strength, and with a firm determination to execute the behests of his heavenly visitor.

It is more than probable that Hung really believed in his divine mission. It is no uncommon thing for hysterical youths, especially when under the influence of pseudo-religious fanaticism, to place faith in visions and prophetic utterances. In his case also it is plain that the illness which overtook him was of a purely nervous character. But notwithstanding their neurotic source, his convictions were strong, and he was able to impress those about him with a belief in his views. By degrees, first of all in his own household, and afterward in the neighborhood, followers gathered to him, and he and they attempted to spread the doctrines of the Shangti Hui, or the "Association of the Almighty," which he established. The term *Hui,* however, alarmed the authorities. It is the common title taken by the secret societies which so largely infest the empire, and which are so abhorrent in the eyes of the mandarins. They therefore declared the association to be treasonable, and Hung found it advisable to drop the epithet. Though discarding the obnoxious word, however, he proceeded at once to associate himself with a far more treasonable corporation than the Shangti Hui, *viz.,* the Triad Society, and so active did his followers become in this cause that the government, in alarm, dispatched three imperial commissioners from Peking to stamp out the movement. Of these three men, Tahungah, who had ordered the massacre of the British sailors in Formosa, was chief. With him were associated Saishangah, a notorious profligate and prime minister, and Hsingte. Though armed with plenipotentiary powers, these three courtiers carefully refrained from coming to close quarters with Hung's troops, who, full of iconoclastic zeal, destroyed the Buddhist temples in the countryside and threw down the idols.

But more serious matters than these anti-religious ebullitions speedily demanded the attention of the rebels. Circumstances had driven them to take up arms against the empire, and having captured two market towns in their neighborhood, they ventured to attack the city of Lienchow. This place they took without much difficulty, and in succession, Taitsun, Yunganchow, and Nanning Fu fell into their hands. These successes created a panic at Canton, and Yeh made strenuous efforts to strengthen the defenses of the city in anticipation of a siege. In a memorial presented to the throne at this time a Canton official described the state of the province in these words, "The whole country swarms with the rebels. Our funds are nearly at an end, and our troops are few; our officers disagree and the power is not concentrated. The commander of the forces wants to extinguish a burning wagonload of fagots with a cupful of water. . . . I fear we shall hereafter have some serious affair, that the great body of the people will rise against us, and that our own followers will leave us." After the above victories Hung was gratified by experiencing the truth of the common saying that nothing succeeds like success. Following on each capture troops flocked to his standard, probably actuated more by the desire for plunder than from any political convictions. At all events they added to his strength, but the movement being rather of a destructive than constructive nature, it was necessary that he should constantly lead his new recruits forward, and having exhausted the resources of one district, seek fresh woods and pastures new elsewhere. With this object he marched northward instead of against the provincial capital, having first proclaimed his authority by issuing decrees purporting to have been communicated to him by the Heavenly Father. Crossing the northern frontier of Kwangtung he marched into Hunan, and striking the Hsiang River, followed down its course, taking all such cities as were not strong enough to resist him. Up to this point Hung had not met a single Chinese commander possessing any courage or a modicum of military ability. He was now to enter into conflict with a general of a very different stamp, and who was destined in the end to bring the rebellion to ruin.

On the approach of the rebels, Tsêng Kwofan, the father of the Marquis Tsêng, who later represented China at the court of St. James's, threw himself into Changsha, the capital of the province, and with all speed set to work to fortify the town and to equip a defending force. The success of his tactics was complete. Thrice the T'aip'ings attacked the walls and thrice they were beaten back by the actively led garrison. This successful resistance having made it plain to the "Heavenly King" that the capture of the city was beyond his powers, he raised the siege, and leaving that and the important town of Hsiangtan in imperial hands, continued his way to the Yang-tsze-kiang. In quick succession Yochow, Wuchang, and Kiukiang were taken by his troops, and at the last named place he successfully withstood a siege conducted by Tsêng Kwofan, who had followed close on his heels.

It is easy to believe that after these undoubtedly great successes Hung's belief in his divine mission became engrained in him, and in March, 1853, he published a book of Celestial Decrees, containing a series of revelations which to an unprejudiced observer have all the appearance of gross profanation. One of these documents contains the following passage: "The Heavenly Father addressed the multitude, saying, 'O my children! do you know your Heavenly Father, and your Celestial Brother?' To which they all replied, 'We know our Heavenly Father and Celestial Elder Brother.' The Heavenly Father then said, 'Do you know your Lord, and truly?' To which they all replied, 'We know our Lord right well.' The Heavenly Father said, 'I have sent your Lord down into the world to become the Celestial King (T'ienwang, the title which Hung had adopted); every word he utters is a Celestial command to which you must be obedient; you must truly assist your Lord and regard your King; you must not dare to act disorderly, nor to be disrespectful. If you do not regard your Lord and King, every one of you will be involved in difficulty.'"

With such strange and unnatural incitements Hung secured the allegiance of his ignorant followers, and with full confidence of success led them to the attack on Nanking, the ancient capital of the empire. Though the garrison was a large one, composed partly of Manchus and partly of Chinese soldiers, only a half-hearted defense was made. Without much difficulty a gate was blown up, and the T'aip'ings, rushing into the breach, secured possession of the walls. The miserable garrison, too cowardly to defend an exceptionally strong position, had the further baseness to plead—they pleaded in vain—for their lives at the hands of the conquerors. The T'aip'ings had not learned, and never did learn, the lesson that mercy blesses those who give, and without hesitation they made a clean sweep of their abject foes. It is said that out of twenty thousand Manchu citizens not a hundred were left to tell the tale of the slaughter. As a T'aip'ing said to the British Consul Meadows at the time: "We killed them all, to the infant in arms; we left not a root to sprout from; and the bodies of the slain we cast into the Yangtsze."

Having thus established himself in the second city of the empire, the "Heavenly King" made some efforts toward introducing a system of administration among his followers. As self-assertion always exercises a powerful influence in the assumption of authority, he determined to adopt the imperial purple and to proclaim himself Emperor of China, at the same time announcing that his dynasty was to be known in the future as the T'aip'ing Dynasty. In support of this new dignity he severally appointed four of his principal supporters as kings of the north, east, south, and west. These very incomplete efforts toward establishing a government seem to have exhausted his exertions and ability, and he sank from this time into obscurity. He was never subsequently seen beyond the gates of his palace, where he was waited upon by women only, and where, in the midst of very questionable surroundings, he gave himself up to a life of indolence and self-indulgence. In these circumstances the management of affairs naturally drifted into the hands of those who were able and willing to accept the responsibility of office, and practically the four kings exercised complete and irresponsible authority in all matters connected with the new dynasty. The eastern king, who seems to have followed more closely than the others in the steps of his liege lord, was, or pretended to be, subject to trances, in one of which ecstatic conditions he received a "message from the Almighty" ordering him to rebuke and chastise the T'ienwang for his treatment of the women within the palace. Yang, who appeared to be by no means loath to exercise the delegated authority thus granted him, took his chief to task, and even induced him to prostrate himself to receive the chastisement decreed by the Most High. This humiliation was considered to be sufficient, and Yang, instead of inflicting the merited stripes, proceeded to remonstrate with him on the gross impropriety of kicking and otherwise ill using his concubines and female attendants. For a time the T'ienwang submitted to these rebukes, and even proclaimed Yang to be the personification of the Holy Ghost. But at last the yoke became unendurable, and on a charge of treachery which ill became his divine character Yang was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

The position which the T'aip'ings had thus secured on the

Yang-tsze-kiang naturally induced foreigners, who had watched the progress of the movement with interest and some concern, to desire to gauge accurately the objects and power of the rebels. It was plain that if, as then appeared likely, they were destined to overthrow the ruling dynasty, it would be an advantage to be brought into contact with some of their leading men and to have some idea of the policy which they were likely to pursue. Governor Bonham was among the first to visit Nanking with this object in view, but beyond satisfying his curiosity and exciting a superficial interest among the rebels, the visit proved to be singularly unproductive of results.

So far, however, fortune had smiled on the T'ienwang, but it was obvious that so long as Peking was beyond his grasp he must be considered to have failed of the goal which was his ultimate aim. At a council of war held at Nanking this subject was debated, and it was finally determined that the die should be cast, and that an expedition should be sent against the northern capital. In March, 1853, a column started northward on this adventurous endeavor. So completely had the terror of the T'aip'ing name influenced the garrisons of towns in the neighborhood of the great river that without let or hindrance the column marched triumphantly as far as K'aifung Fu, the capital city of Honan. Here a bold front was shown to the invaders, who, finding the capture of the city to be beyond their power, raised the siege, as their manner was in all similar cases, and continued their march northward. Without meeting with any serious opposition they traversed the province of Shansi and captured the town of Shênchow (Shinchow) in the metropolitan province. Thence they advanced to Tsinghai, within twenty miles of Tientsin, and there entrenched themselves. The march had been daringly and well executed, and it reflects infinite discredit on the imperial forces that so much had been accomplished at so small a cost. In a six months' raid the rebels had captured twenty-six cities, and had finally established themselves within a hundred miles of Peking. But the effort had been made in defiance of the true principles of warfare. They had no supports, and like all Oriental armies they were absolutely without commissariat, being dependent only on plunder for their daily bread. Movement was therefore essential to their existence, and after a short rest at Tsinghai, they marched to the attack of the neighboring city of Tientsin. Here they found General Sankolinsin, who subsequently commanded the imperial forces against the allies, in possession, and failed to make any impression on the fortification garrisoned by the troops of this veteran. This check was fatal to the expedition. To have marched on Peking with Tientsin untaken in their rear would have been an act of full-moon madness, and the general in command wisely determined rather to force his way back to Nanking than to advance to certain ruin.

With some difficulty and considerable loss he managed to cut his way through the intervening imperial host, and eventually succeeded in bringing a remnant of his forces to the capital of his chief. Another column which had started with the idea of supporting the first expedition, on hearing of the retreat from Tsinghai, retired with alacrity and retraced its steps to Nanking. It was in connection with these expeditions that Li Hung Chang, who has since filled so prominent a place in Chinese politics, first stepped on to the stage. Feeling that it was a time when China might reasonably expect every man to do his duty, Li, who was still residing under the parental roof at Hofei in Anhui, raised a regiment of militia to contest the progress of the northern column. Whether from a disinclination to meet the enemy face to face, or from the fact that he was too late in the field to do so, certain it is that his military tactics consisted in following in the track of the rebels and harassing their rearguard so long as they remained within the frontier of Anhui. Though there was nothing striking in these military maneuvers of the future viceroy, his patriotic exertions were of sufficient value to attract the attention of Tsêng Kwofan, who from that time forth became his constant patron and friend.

The non-success of this attempt on Peking was a serious blow to the T'aip'ing cause. Not only had the rebels lost prestige by it, but it had deprived them of fresh districts from which they might recruit their ranks and plunder necessaries. In this dilemma they were driven to enlarge their borders on the banks of the great river, and from Ichang to Yangchow they soon reigned supreme, if it is possible to speak of such banditti as reigning at all. Administration can hardly be said to have entered into their system, and the fiendish barbarity with which they desolated cities and villages has even to the present day left its mark on some of the fairest provinces of China. Nanking itself was at this time ruled without any regard for law and right, and presented a sordid scene of Oriental debauchery accompanied with all the intrigues and murders which usually belong to such a state. No man's life was safe for five minutes, and a reign of terror took possession of the followers of the Dynasty of Great Peace (T'aip'ing). As was inevitable, this state of things at headquarters affected by degrees the efficiency of the troops in the provinces, and the imperialists, taking heart of grace at the disorder which prevailed, recovered a number of cities with almost as much ease as that with which the T'aip'ings a short time before had made themselves masters of them. Gradually the forces of the T'ienwang were confined between the cities of Nanking and Anking on the Yang-tsze-kiang, both of which were closely beleaguered.

Chapter VIII

THE SECOND FOREIGN WAR. 1850-1858

WHILE these things were going on in the central provinces of the empire, movements unconnected with the T'aip'ings, but doubtless produced by the unrest occasioned by these truculent disturbers of the peace, broke out in various parts of the empire. Canton, that hotbed of disaffection, was in a state of ferment, and Yeh's energies were taxed to the utmost to preserve even the apparent supremacy of the emperor. In Szech'uan and Kweichow bands of rebels appeared who desolated country districts, and held walled cities in defiance of the imperial commanders. It was while the country was thus seething with discontent that Taokwang, whose health had for some time been failing, became seriously ill. The Chinese are firm believers in signs in the skies. To them a comet presages disturbance in the empire and misfortunes to the ruling house, while an eclipse of the sun forbodes an equally ominous future. Curiously enough an eclipse of the sun was foretold for the Chinese New Year's Day in 1850. The combination of time added unnatural terrors to the portent, and in his superstitious terror Taokwang had the supreme imprudence to order that New Year's Day should be postponed for twenty-four hours. It is probable that the omen, as is so often the case, was the means of working its own fulfillment, and before many weeks were over Taokwang became, at the age of sixty-nine, a " guest on high," leaving his distracted country to his fourth son, who adopted as his imperial title the epithet of Hsienfêng, or " Complete Abundance."

Why Hsienfêng was chosen to succeed to the throne does not clearly appear. By the law of succession in China the dying emperor has the right of nominating any one of his sons whom he may please as his successor, quite irrespective of the rule of primogeniture. Taokwang was blessed with eight sons, the next one to Hsienfêng being Prince Kung, whose name has long been prominently before the public as President of the Tsungli Yamên. A still younger brother was Prince Chun, the father of the present Emperor Kwanghsü. At the time of his assuming the imperial crown Hsienfêng was nineteen years of age and with the blessing of youth combined the headstrong disposition which is commonly supposed to belong to it. The old councilors, Kiying and Muchangah, who had served his father long and well, he incontinently dismissed from office, and appointed in their places men of far less ability, but who possessed in his eyes the qualification of being violently anti-foreign. The influence of these changes soon made itself felt in the provinces, and prompted the Foochow officials to imitate the example of the Canton mandarins and to refuse to admit foreigners within the walls of the city in 1850. At the same time six Pailous or Gates of Honor were erected at Canton to the Viceroy Hsü for the part he had played in preserving the streets of the city from the polluting presence of foreigners. Altogether there were many signs that Hsienfêng's position would be by no means a bed of roses, and nature combined with foreigners to disturb the peace of the emperor. A famine occurred in the country round Peking, which carried off many thousands of the people; a destructive earthquake swept over the province of Szech'uan; while fires of unusual magnitude and ferocity destroyed whole districts.

It is part of the imperial etiquette of China that the ruling emperor should see in any convulsions of nature a reflection on his own conduct, and of that of the officials under him. And in this spirit Hsienfêng, in face of the calamities which surrounded him, issued an edict in which, after belauding his "profoundly benevolent and exceedingly gracious" parent, he proceeded to depreciate himself and his officers in these words: "We, although not laying claim to the title of an intelligent ruler, will at the same time not lay the blame unnecessarily upon our ministers and officers; but we just ask them in the silent hour of the night to lay their hands upon their hearts, and see if they can allow themselves to rest satisfied with such a state of things; if they do not now reproach themselves most bitterly for their remissness, they will, at some future period, be involved in evils which they will not be able to remedy. We, therefore, publicly announce to all our officers great and small, that if from henceforth you do not change your habits, and if you pay no regard to this, our decree, we are determined severely to punish you according to the utmost rigor of the law, without allowing the least indulgence or permitting rigor to be tempered by clemency; for the necessity of the present crisis demands it." Judging from appearances these admonitions fell on deaf ears, for no attempt was made to reform the glaring abuses which existed and still exist in the country.

At Canton the question of admittance into the city was still straining relations between Sir George Bonham and Yeh. The promise that had been given by Kiying that the gates should be thrown open to foreigners in 1849 was not fulfilled by his successor, who, as time went on, declared his opinion that as the season had passed when the concession was to have taken effect, the promise must be considered as abrogated. And he further protested against yielding the privilege, on the ostensible ground that the people were of so unruly a nature that to grant it would be to incur serious danger both to foreigners and to the imperial authorities themselves. This has always been a favorite excuse with the Chinese when a request has been advanced by foreigners with which they find it difficult to comply. It was for many years the traditional reason given for not allowing the establishment of foreign legations at Peking. But, as at Canton, where on gaining possession of the city the people proved to be perfectly friendly, so when in 1861 Sir Frederick Bruce and his staff took up their residence at the capital they were received with every civility by the populace. It was, however, felt to be essential that the point in dispute at Canton should be cleared up once and for all, and when Sir John Bowring succeeded Sir George Bonham in 1852 he took up the question with energy. Writing to Lord Clarendon he said, "I am still of opinion that, until the city question of Canton is settled, there is little hope of our relations being placed on anything like a satisfactory foundation; and, moreover, that the settlement of the said city question might be brought about without any risk or danger to our great interests in China. In my matured judgment it has been delayed too long."

Sir John Bowring's first step in the controversy was to notify his appointment as superintendent of trade to Yeh and to invite him to an interview. Yeh's reply was characteristic of the man. He congratulated Sir John on his appointment and then went on to decline the invitation on the ground that his time was fully occupied in making dispositions for the campaign against the rebels. Being further pressed on the point he had the impertinence to propose that Sir John should meet him at a packhouse outside the walls of the city. Sir John naturally declined this proposal, and it was while foreign relations were in this condition that Yeh put forward a request which could only have been made by a Chinaman. While with one hand he dealt out scorn and derision against foreigners, with the other he asked their help to assist in the suppression of the rebels who were troubling his peace. It is needless to say that this also was declared to be impossible.

It was while matters were in this condition that Parkes was appointed British Consul at Canton in 1856. His well-known ability, courage, and perseverance peculiarly qualified him for the post at this crisis, and throughout the whole quarrel he ably supported Sir John Bowring in the line he was adopting with regard to the great question in dispute. Yeh had refused to receive Parkes, and, though willing to keep up an official correspondence with him, declined to change his main attitude in the least degree. Led by their truculent governor, the people of the city heaped constant insults on the European merchants, and handbills were publicly circulated throughout the city calling on the people to expel the intruders. One of these documents concluded with the following words: "Hereafter, therefore, whenever any barbarian dogs come within our limits, we ought, by calling together our families, to maintain the dignity of our city (or province), and, bravely rushing upon them, kill every one. Thus may we, in the first place, appease the anger of Heaven, in the second give evidence of our loyalty and patriotism, and in the third restore peace and quiet in our homes. How great would be the happiness we should thus secure!" Parkes remonstrated vehemently with Yeh against the continued publication of this manifesto, but got no redress, though the effect of it was presently illustrated by a violent and most unprovoked attack which was made upon two Englishmen in the neighborhood of the city.

Affairs had now reached a point in which it was impossible for Englishmen to preserve their dignity and to maintain peace, and an outrage which occurred almost immediately after the assault just referred to, was of so flagrant a nature that it ended in a declaration of war. An English lorcha named the *Arrow,* flying the British flag, was boarded when at anchor at Whampoa by Chinese officials, who hauled down the flag and threw it with contempt on the deck. So soon as the news of this outrage reached

1856

the British consulate, Parkes wrote to Yeh remonstrating on the action of his subordinates, who added to their guilt by carrying off the twelve men constituting the crew. Yeh's answer was, as might have been expected, evasive, but Parkes was persistent, and stated in good round terms that he would be satisfied with nothing less than an ample apology and the instant and public return of the captive crew. On this, in the true Chinese spirit, Yeh sent back nine of the men, and claimed two of the others as malefactors and one as a witness; after, however, boxing the compass of evasion, he was compelled eventually to deliver up the twelve sailors, but in so underhand a way did he effect the manumission that Parkes refused to receive them, and repeated his demand that they should be returned as openly as they had been carried off. Yeh still remaining recalcitrant, Sir John Bowring authorized the capture of a native vessel by way of reprisal. As this produced no beneficial effect, he recognized that matters had again reached that stage when, as had so often happened, it was necessary to place the affair in the hands of the admiral. The British naval forces had become so accustomed by repeated experience to capturing the Bogue forts and the other defenses of the city that Sir Michael Seymour moved almost automatically to the position which it was necessary to take up, and with no difficulty forced his way to Canton after having made himself master on his voyage up the river of the fortifications in which the Chinese so foolishly continued to trust. Toward the end of October the admiral's ships appeared opposite the walls of Canton, and Sir Michael Seymour, after having warned the inhabitants that he was about to inflict punishment on their obstinate governor, opened fire on the official residence or yamên. Even this failed to bring Yeh to reason, who aggravated his offenses by issuing the following ill-judged proclamation: "The English barbarians have attacked the provincial city, and wounded and injured our soldiers and people. Their crimes are indeed of the most heinous nature. Wherefore I hereby distinctly command you to join together to exterminate them, and I publicly proclaim to all the military and people, householders and others, that you should unite with all the means at your command to assist the soldiers and militia in exterminating these troublous English villains, killing them wherever you meet them, whether on shore or in their ships. For each of their lives that you may thus take you shall receive, as before, thirty dollars.

All ought to respect and obey, and neither oppose nor disregard this special proclamation."

It was plain that with the issuer of this document there could be no exchange of compliments, and the admiral, having shelled out Yeh's yamên, breached the walls of the city with his guns, and landed a party to accentuate the helpless condition of the town. Yeh's vaunted preparations to destroy the foreign devils proved, like all his boasts, to be of no value when brought to the supreme test. With little difficulty, and with only a small loss of men, the wall was gained, and the possession of a city gate was secured. Through this portal, which was now freely opened for the first time to foreigners, Sir Michael Seymour entered with Parkes and visited the ruins of Yeh's yamên. Unfortunately the force at the admiral's command was quite insufficient to occupy the city effectively, and he therefore withdrew his men to the ships, and at the same time wrote home an urgent appeal for five thousand men to enable him to inflict the necessary punishment on the obstructive governor.

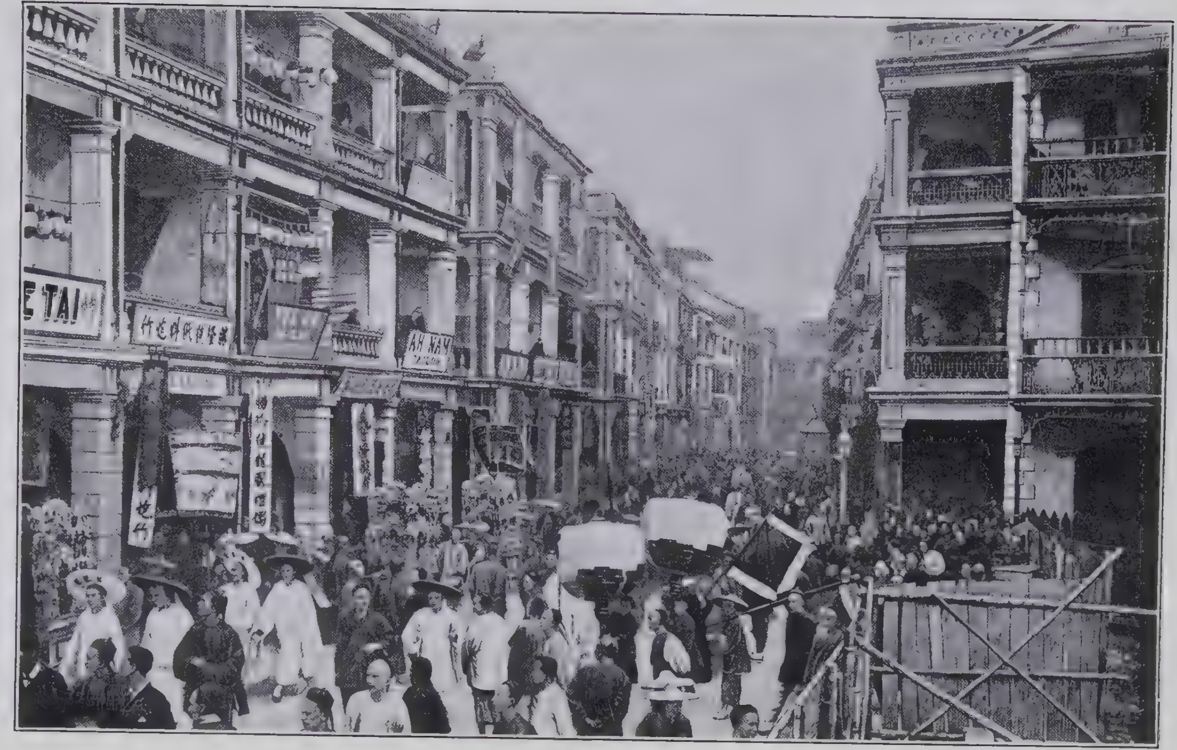
It was plain to Lord Clarendon, who was at this time foreign secretary, that the matter was of sufficient importance to make it necessary that a man with higher rank than that of Sir John Bowring should be on the spot to carry on the necessary negotiations. The choice of the cabinet fell upon Lord Elgin, and though the natural kindliness of his disposition made him too often unwilling to inflict well-merited punishment, and inclined him to listen with too ready an ear to the excuses and apologies of the authorities, he yet proved himself an able ambassador and a skillful diplomatist. With as little delay as possible he sailed for China, taking with him the force for which Sir Michael Seymour had asked. In June, 1857, he arrived at Singapore, where his progress was stayed by an urgent letter from Lord Canning, the governor-general of India, informing him of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, and begging him to divert his troops to help in the suppression of a revolt which threatened British sovereignty in the great peninsula. With rare unselfishness Lord Elgin at once acceded to the request, and, as events proved, he, by so doing, rendered eminent service to the Indian Government. Meanwhile the withdrawal of Sir Michael Seymour's troops from the city of Canton inspired the Chinese with fresh though deluded courage, and gave Yeh an opportunity of triumphantly announcing that the

English, by a sudden and piratical attack, had succeeded in breaking into the city, but had been driven off by the indomitable courage of his men.

On Lord Elgin's arrival in Hongkong in July, he found that, though Canton had been evacuated, a series of minor engagements had been carried on during the winter, and that in May Sir Michael Seymour had conducted a number of attacks on the war junks which had collected in the creeks and rivers in the neighborhood of the city. Happily at this time the English Commodore Keppel was on the station, and after numerous junks had with his help been destroyed in the neighborhood of Canton, it was determined to proceed to inflict an exemplary punishment on the warships collected at the town of Fatshan. Sir Michael Seymour himself headed the advance, while Commodore Keppel had the command of the smaller boats, which were intended to deal more directly with the junks. Meanwhile a force of marines landed, and carried a battery above the town, the Chinese retiring sulkily, but without making any serious resistance. The fighting on the river was, however, of a more stirring kind. The fire from the junks was constant and fairly well-directed, in spite of which the English boats, though hit time after time, went on. Keppel, at the head of a force of about five hundred men, took in the position at a glance, and, imitating the tactics of Nelson at Trafalgar, charged into the middle of the fleet and broke the center. He himself, followed by the men of his boat, boarded the largest junk, out of which the Chinese sailors fled with alacrity as the Englishmen appeared upon deck. In this instance flight was, however, not altogether to be attributed to cowardice. They had, as it proved, lighted a slow match connected with the powder magazine, and Keppel's men had only just retired from the deserted ship when she blew up. So far a complete victory had been gained. A number of junks had been given to the flames, others had been taken as spoil, while a few only had escaped up the intricate waters which surround Fatshan. Though his loss of men had been considerable, and though a decisive victory had been achieved, Keppel, thirsting for fresh laurels, was minded to attack and take the town of Fatshan. Opposite that city a fleet of junks, whose fire was unusually well-directed as before, was formed in a serried line. Keppel's boat was sunk under him, and though he again succeeded in destroying the fleet, his hand was stayed, for the admiral, deeming further operations to be dangerous, gave the signal to retire. These disasters to the Chinese arms made no impression upon the obdurate Yeh, who amused his imperial master with a grotesque travesty of the engagements fought, and described with some approach to humor how " Elgin passes day after day at Hongkong, stamping his foot and sighing."

But it is ill jesting when the enemy is at your gates, and Yeh was soon to discover that Lord Elgin was not a foe at whom it was safe to laugh. The English ambassador, on arrival, had notified his presence to Yeh, and had set forth his demands, which were, roughly speaking, the complete fulfillment of all the treaty conditions so far as Canton was concerned, and the payment of an indemnity for the British losses sustained, owing to the action of the Canton authorities. This letter Yeh affected to treat with indifference, and had the coolness to suggest that the trade of the port should be revived on the old conditions, and that each party in the dispute should bear its own losses. There being no sign of a just appreciation of the position in the answer of this inveterate obstructionist, Lord Elgin presented an ultimatum on Christmas Day, 1857, giving him forty-eight hours for the evacuation of the city by his troops. To this communication Yeh vouchsafed no answer, and the forty-eight hours having elapsed, Sir Michael Seymour seized Honan and prepared for an assault on the city. With a merciful consideration for the non-combatant citizens, Parkes issued, and personally distributed, proclamations warning the people that their city was about to be attacked, and explaining the circumstances which had led to this extreme measure. Captain Hall, R.N., assisted Parkes in this work of mercy, and happened " in one of his rapid descents to catch a mandarin in his chair not far from the outer gate. The captain pasted the mandarin up in his chair with the Barbarian papers, pasted the chair all over with them, and started the bearers to carry this new advertising van into the city. The Chinese crowd, always alive to a practical joke, roared."

On the morning of December 28 the ships opened fire, and the next day an assault was made at three different points of the walls. The result was the repetition of the old story. The Chinese made no serious defense, and in an hour and a half the city walls were in British hands. Probably Yeh hoped that Sir Michael Seymour would retire, as he had retired before, but at all events he made no sign.



THE PROCESSION OF THE DRAGON IN THE STREETS OF HONG-KONG

From a Photograph

For the first few days it was not deemed advisable, for fear of complications, for the troops to venture into the narrow and crooked lanes of the city, but as the Chinese showed no symptoms of surrender, detachments were subsequently moved into the town. No resistance was offered, and Pikwei, the governor, was taken prisoner in his yamên, while the provincial treasury was seized. A considerable amount of silver was there found, and with the help of coolies, who were picked up in the street, and who readily volunteered for the work, it was safely carried off to the English camp. The capture of Pikwei was satisfactory, but the great object of the search was for the offending viceroy. Parkes, who had of late been his great opponent, heading a search party commanded by Captain Key, sought everywhere for him. At length his hiding-place was discovered. He had taken refuge in a small yamên in the southwest portion of the city. Thither the search-party hurried, and as they entered they found the rooms crowded with mandarins, who were hastily packing up their wordly goods preparatory to flight. In answer to Parkes's inquiries for Yeh, a mandarin stepped forward and declared himself to be the object of their search. Parkes, however, who had seen a portrait of the viceroy, put this devoted follower aside, and hastened with true instinct into the back part of the yamên. There he arrived just in time to see a corpulent mandarin struggling to climb over the wall at the rear of the yamên. He at once recognized his prey, and a sailor, catching the would-be fugitive by the pigtail, made a captive of him.

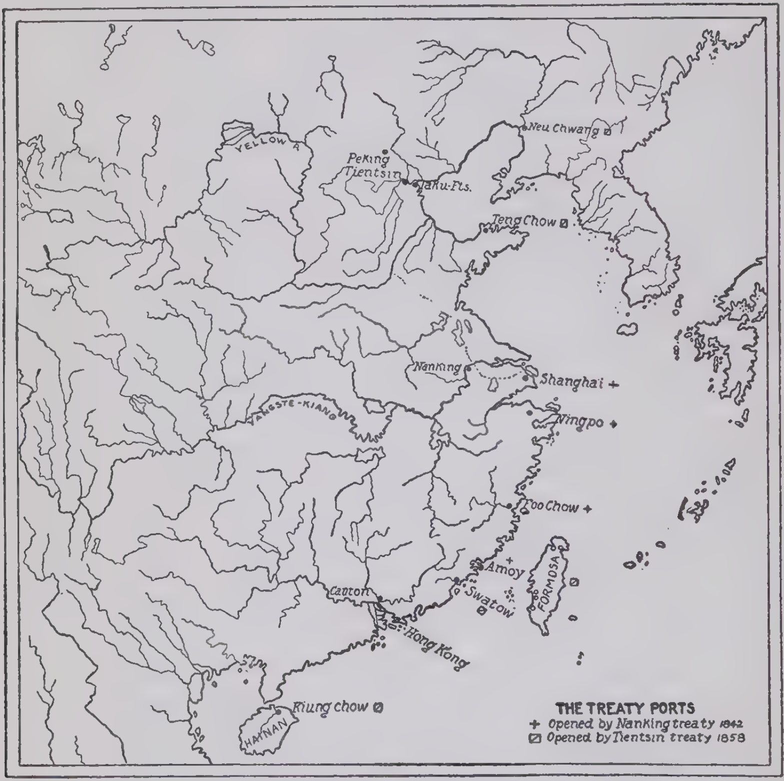
An investigation of Yeh's boxes revealed many things, and among others the ratified treaty with Great Britain, which had evidently been considered too insignificant to be deposited in the archives of Peking—a strange commentary on the value attached to treaties by the Chinese Government. It was plainly impossible that, after all that had passed, Yeh should be allowed to remain at large, and he was therefore placed on board ship, and carried off to exile in Calcutta, where he eventually died. A characteristic incident occurred while he was being taken to the wharf at Canton. On his way through the streets, escorted by his foreign captors, the coolies laughed and jeered at the fallen condition of their former oppressor. It is probable that few men have made themselves more detested than Yeh. His cruelty was excessive, and he is said to have executed a hundred thousand rebels during his viceroyalty of four years. A day or two before the assault on the city, undeterred by the difficulty of his foreign policy, he sent four hundred of these evildoers to the execution ground, and, in the minds of the people, his memory will long be associated with all that is brutal and savage. Yeh, having thus been disposed of, it was necessary that arrangements should be made for the government of the city. Pikwei was reëstablished as governor, and a commission of three, consisting of Parkes, Colonel Holloway, of the Marines, and a French naval officer, was appointed to administer affairs. For three years, under the sway of these officers, a just and equitable rule was substituted for the tyranny which had up to that time disgraced the administration of justice in the city. The change was fully appreciated by the natives, who, for the first time in their existences, had their property guarded and their lives protected.

This important matter having been arranged, Lord Elgin was free to deal with the questions of his country's relations with China, and as a preliminary step forwarded a letter to the chief secretary of state at Peking, giving the course events had taken in the south, and declaring the concessions which he demanded before peace could be reëstablished. To this communication he received from his correspondent the following reply, which was addressed not to him, but to the viceroy of the two Kiang provinces. "I have perused the letter received, and have acquainted myself with its contents. In the ninth month of the year [1856] the English opened their guns on the provincial city [Canton], bombarding and burning buildings and dwellings, and attacked and stormed its forts. . . . These are facts of which all foreigners are alike aware. The seizure of a minister and the occupation of a provincial city belonging to us, as on this occasion has been the case, are facts without parallel in the history of the past. His Majesty the emperor is magnanimous and considerate. He has been pleased by a decree, which we have had the honor to receive, to degrade Yeh from the viceroyalty of the two Kiang provinces for his maladministration, and to dispatch his Excellency Hwang to Kwangtung as imperial commissioner in his stead, to investigate and decide with impartiality; and it will of course behoove the English minister to wait in Kwantung, and there make his arrangements. No imperial commissioner ever conducts business at Shanghai [Lord Elgin had proposed a meeting at this place].

There being a particular sphere of duty allotted to every official on the establishment of the Celestial Empire, and the principle that between them and the foreigner there is no intercourse, being one ever religiously adhered to by the servants of our Government of China, it would not be proper for me to reply in person to the English minister. Let your Excellency therefore transmit to him all that I have said above, and thus his letter will not be left unanswered," etc.

This communication left little hope for the continuance of peaceful negotiations, and Lord Elgin determined to proceed to the Peiho, from which coign of vantage he, however, again wrote to the chief secretary, advising him that he was ready to receive any properly accredited plenipotentiary for the discussion of matters in dispute. With their usual discourtesy the emperor's government dispatched three commissioners of very inferior rank, and quite unendowed with the necessary powers to treat. Lord Elgin naturally declined to communicate with such men, and, rightly considering their appointment an additional provocation, he requested Sir Michael Seymour to assault and take the Taku forts. This was no difficult task, and the way being now effectively open, Lord Elgin proceeded up the river to Tientsin.

The capture of the Taku forts, which had been armed according to the most approved methods of Chinese military science, disconcerted the Peking Government not a little, and the necessity of appointing commissioners with plenipotentiary powers was forced on the stolid intelligence of the emperor's advisers. In an edict issued on June 1 the summary dismissal of the former envoys was announced, and the appointment of Kweiliang and Hwashana, both officials of high standing in the capital, to confer with Lord Elgin at Tientsin was made public. The approach of the British troops to the neighborhood of the capital influenced in a marked degree the attitude of the commissioners, who at once assumed a friendly air, and discussed the matters in dispute in a most conciliatory spirit. While negotiations were in progress Kiying, who it will be remembered took a prominent part in the arrangement of the Nanking Treaty, suddenly appeared upon the scene with secret orders to induce Lord Elgin, by all the means in his power, to sanction the withdrawal of the British troops from the river. The proposal was too preposterously Chinese to be listened to for a moment, and Kiying returned to Peking to announce his failure, and to meet his death. The unfortunate envoy was at once thrown into prison, and as an act of grace was allowed to strangle himself in his cell, instead of being decapitated on the execution ground. After much discussion a treaty was signed by which it was agreed that the Queen of England might appoint a resident minister at Peking; that in addition to the five ports already open to trade, the ports of Newchwang, Têngchow, Formosa, Swatow, and Kiung Chow in the island of Hainan should be opened as treaty ports; and that the traffic in opium should be legalized. Considerable credit should be given to American influence for the final settlement at Tientsin. From the beginning of the century the Americans, or " New People," as the Chinese styled them, had been in rather greater national favor than the English and were able to exert a sort of moral pressure in the present crisis.



But though the treaty was signed on June 26 and received the emperor's ratification on July 4, the commissioners, before the ink was dry that testified their agreement to the clause, used their best endeavors to postpone the condition which gave England the right to appoint the resident minister at the court. The old familiar arguments were once more furbished up to do duty on this occasion. Lord Elgin was assured that the people of Peking were turbulent and unruly, and that the advent of a minister with his staff within the walls of Peking would give rise to outrages and riots, which the government would be unable to prevent, and which would embitter relations between the two countries. Lord Elgin so far yielded to the entreaties of the commissioners as to agree that for the time being the right should be waived, and that it would be used only temporarily in the following year, when it would become necessary to exchange the ratifications.

But while the words of Kweiliang and Hwashana were smoother than butter, war was in their hearts, and at the very moment when they were agreeing to the treaty with warm professions of friendliness, they were making every arrangement for renewing the campaign against the hated foreigners so soon as the occasion should offer. This compact having been ostensibly completed, and there being nothing further to detain Lord Elgin in the north, he returned to Hongkong, where he found that though the people of Canton were showing an amicable attitude toward the foreign garrison, the mandarins were doing their utmost to stir up strife, and were again offering rewards for Barbarian heads. In this savage barter a sliding scale was introduced, which varied from a small sum for the life of a soldier to as much as $30,000 for Parkes, dead or alive. From a mistaken desire to keep the peace, the garrison had hitherto been confined within the city walls, and liberty was thus given to the neighboring villagers to concentrate forces and establish camps, preparatory to an attack on the British. It was well known that a number of these associations were within the immediate neighborhood of the city, and it was eventually thought desirable to employ expeditions to dissipate the forces of these would-be disturbers of the peace. A successful expedition of this kind was made against the "ninety-six" villages on the north of the city, and Shektsing, a place of considerable strength, was carried after some show of opposition on the part of the local troops. The effect of this sortie was most wholesome, and an armed visit to the formerly riotous town of Fayuan not only did not meet with opposition, but was cordially received. Even in those days the importance of the West River, which later has been opened to trade, was appreciated by Parkes and others, and at their instigation it was determined to explore in force the waters of that important stream. Again the expedition met with a ready reception, and successfully explored the river as far as Wuchow Fu, the highest town on its banks which has yet been opened as a treaty port. The effect of these military parades surpassed expectation, and reacted so favorably on the streets of Canton that they became as safe as the thoroughfares of London or New York.

Chapter IX

THE ANGLO-FRENCH WARS. 1859-1860

IN the following year, 1859, it became necessary to send to Peking an ambassador to exchange the ratifications of the treaty, and Lord Elgin's brother, Mr. Bruce, was chosen for the office, and arrived at Shanghai in due course. He had been warned by Lord Malmesbury, the foreign secretary, that the Chinese would probably use every endeavor to dissuade him from going to the capital, and he was instructed to insist at all costs on this clause of the treaty being fulfilled. He had no sooner landed on the wharf at Shanghai than the truth of Lord Malmesbury's words became apparent. Kweiliang and Hwashana were already waiting for him, in the vain hope of being able to persuade him to forego his purpose. At the same time reports reached him that warlike preparations were being made at Taku to prevent his passing up the Peiho. His duty, however, was plain, and by an arrangement with Admiral Hope, who commanded on the station, a considerable fleet accompanied the ambassador to the mouth of the Peiho. On reaching the anchorage, Bruce dispatched an interpreter with a letter addressed to the commandant of the fort, announcing his arrival, when it at once became plain that the warlike rumors which had lately filled the air were well founded. The interpreter found the mouth of the river studded with heavy iron stakes, while huge chains were stretched across its waters from shore to shore. The guns of the forts were screened by mats, but it was plain that they were there in full complement and were well manned. The crowd that came down to the wharf to meet the boat refused to allow the interpreter to land, but a man who appeared to be in authority promised that by the morrow the stakes should be removed so as to admit the ships into the river. No dependence was placed on this man's word, more especially as it was abundantly obvious that the Chinese meant to fight.

On the following day Admiral Hope, with a force of eleven vessels including gunboats, steamed toward the river's mouth.

Some of the stakes had already been removed by H. M. S. *Opossum,* but the booms remained, and the leading gunboats no sooner struck these obstacles than the guns from the forts poured a storm of shot and shell upon them. So terrible was the fire that two gunboats were quickly sunk, and all were more or less seriously damaged. The admiral was wounded and many of the officers and men were killed. It being plainly impossible to force the passage by water, a detachment consisting of marines and engineers was landed in the hope that they might be able to capture the forts by storm. With desperate gallantry they struggled to make their way through the deep mud which lay on the waterside of the forts. At every step they sunk above their knees, while the troops from the walls poured a destructive fire upon them. The scaling ladders were broken by the fire, the men's rifles were in many cases choked with mud, and wide ditches half full of water added a further difficulty in the way of their enterprise. Darkness fell while they were in this predicament, and reluctantly they were obliged to retire to their boats. In this engagement three gunboats were lost, and three hundred men were killed and wounded. It being plain that to renew the attack with a thus diminished force would be inexcusable rashness, the fleet returned to Shanghai to await reinforcements. The news of the defeat of the English was received with exultation at Peking, and exercised an unfortunate influence on the natives at the treaty ports. In England it produced fierce indignation, and by all parties it was recognized that it would be necessary to enforce on the Chinese the lesson that treachery, in dealing with a friendly power, is an act of barbarism, and must inevitably meet with punishment. As the minister of France who had also a treaty in his pocket requiring ratification had equally with Bruce been refused admission to the Peiho River, the two governments agreed to make a joint invasion of the "Middle Kingdom." Shortly after this arrangement had been reached in March, 1860, Bruce presented an ultimatum to the Chinese Government, calling upon it within thirty days to make reparation for the treacherous attack at the Taku forts, and further to fulfill both the letter and the spirit of the treaty. The reply to his communication was made in the circuitous way usual. A grand secretary of state replied to the viceroy of the two Kiang provinces, and directed that official to forward a copy of the dispatch to Bruce. The language of the reply was marked by more than usual Chinese hauteur, and ignored altogether the obligations which Bruce attempted to fasten on the government.

Meanwhile, Sir Hope Grant, who had been appointed to command the British force, arrived at Hongkong at the head of an army of thirteen thousand men. The French contingent, consisting of seven thousand rank and file, and commanded by General Montauban, arrived about the same time. So soon as the arrangements of the campaign had been completed the allied forces sailed northward and rendezvoused at Talienwan, above Port Arthur. Here the two commanders discussed the plan of campaign, Sir Hope Grant wishing to begin by attacking Pehtang, a fortified town about eight miles north of the Peiho, and to take the Taku forts by a circuitous route in rear, while Montauban considered that to land in the mud to the south of Taku would be the shortest way to victory. The British plan of attack was so plainly preferable that it was finally adopted, much to the consternation and surprise of the Chinese commanders, whose limited intelligences would have laid it down that the Peiho, being the recognized road to Peking, the Allies were in duty bound to begin the game by an attack on the Taku forts. Fully possessed with this opinion, they had made little effort to fortify Pehtang, and the chief enemy that the troops found on landing was the deep mud, through which they were obliged to flounder in order to reach the raised causeway which connected Pehtang with the neighborhood of the Peiho River. Sankolinsin, a cousin of the emperor, was at the time in command at Taku and in the neighborhood, and though fairly taken by surprise by the descent of the Allies on the coast, had the assurance to report to his imperial kinsman that he had purposely allowed the Barbarians to land. He explained his design by saying that foreigners were aquatic creatures, and though formidable on board ship, were helpless on shore. His plan was, therefore, to entice them from their ships, and to overwhelm them when thus robbed of the support in which their great strength lay.

The struggle at Taku was recognized as of vital importance, and Hang Fu, the viceroy of the province, took up his quarters at the village of Taku that he might the more readily superintend the warlike operations. The disposition of Sankolinsin's troops was at first such as to appear that he really had faith in the plan which he had unfolded to his imperial master. As the Allies advanced from Pehtang, small detachments of Manchu cavalry appeared on the scene on all sides, and as hastily retired, as though to induce a further advance. If such was their design they were not disappointed, for with set purpose the Allies marched on steadily to the object of their attack, the Taku forts. So soon as the news of the landing at Pehtang reached Sankolinsin he ordered the construction of a number of entrenchments to protect the rear of the forts, which, like most Chinese fortifications, were strong on the side from which attack was expected, but weak elsewhere. These entrenchments with the neighboring village of Sinho were flanked and protected by a huge body of cavalry, who owed their full equipment to one of those dishonest subterfuges which excite no astonishment in the Chinese army. Twenty thousand of these horsemen had been collected, on paper, in the neighborhood of Peking, and for this number without deduction the general in command regularly drew full pay and rations. On the few occasions during the year when it was necessary to testify to the existence of the force, it was his habit to enlist men and hire horses for the time being. Being suddenly ordered on service he resorted to this time-honored expedient, and when he had thus extemporized a full muster he marched his unsuspecting victims off, on pain of death, to face the Allies. Curiously enough these men fought well, and on one or two occasions charged up to the very guns. They further helped to defend the entrenchments with courage, but, in the congenial company of the infantry battalions, on the first reverse they melted away and left Sinho unprotected. The rapid advance of the Allies was not according to the methods of Chinese warfare, and when the Barbarians presented themselves before the farther village of Tangku the Chinese troops were enjoying their breakfast. So quickly was the affair over and with such speed did the Chinese soldiers run that it was said that the dishes on the tables were still warm when the enemies' hungry troops took the chairs vacated by the flying enemy.

There had been some differences of opinion between Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban as to the plan of attack on the forts, Sir Hope Grant being of the opinion that one of the forts on the north side of the river was the key of the position, while Montauban would have liked to have crossed the river and stormed the southern fort. Montauban was a gallant soldier but a bad strategist, as was constantly proved during the campaign, and in the present case the result fully justified Sir Hope Grant's view of the position.

From the Chinese standpoint the position was rapidly becoming critical, and Hang Fu resorted to the usual Chinese practice of attempting to gain time by drawing the British minister into a correspondence. With childlike simplicity he wrote to ask the reason of that "hostile appearance at Pehtang, while the two nations were still at peace, and on terms of friendly relationship; if any questions did require settlement, he begged that Lord Elgin would appoint some time and place for a meeting, so that they might be amicably discussed and arranged." The only answer Lord Elgin vouchsafed to this communication, and to many others which followed on it, was that "the only terms on which he would consent to stay naval and military proceedings were the unqualified acceptance of the ultimatum sent to the court of Peking by Bruce, and the surrender of the Peiho forts into English hands." As Hang Fu carefully ignored these conditions in all his letters, the Allies continued their advance against the Taku forts. These "were surrounded by a thick mud wall, pierced, about ten feet from the top, for artillery; jingals were mounted on the upper parapet, which was also loopholed; surrounding the walls on the inside were covered buildings resembling in some degree casemates, but they were not shellproof; a high cavalier rose in the center of the fort, mounting three or four very heavy guns, the embrasures facing seaward, but the guns could be slewed round in any direction; around the outer wall were two, in some cases three, mud ditches, from twenty to thirty feet broad, full of water, the ground between the ditches being protected by sharp-pointed bamboo stakes driven deep into the earth, and placed so close to each other as not to admit of a person standing between them. The south side of the northern forts rested on the Peiho, which flowed at the base of the wall." The pieces of ordnance which manned the embrasures were mostly of native construction, though some few proved to be English guns which had been recovered from the sunken gunboats of the year before.

The attack began by an artillery fire against the walls of the fort. This had not lasted long when an alarming explosion occurred within the mud defenses. To onlookers this accident appeared to involve the destruction of the fort. This was not the case, however, and when the dust and smoke cleared away the

Chinese soldiers turned again to their guns in the vain hope of checking the advancing foes. When it was considered that the fire had made storming possible, orders were given for the assault. In preparation for the campaign, a native coolie corps, several thousand strong, had been enlisted at Canton, and had been carefully drilled in the duties which were expected of them. Though the men perfectly understood that they would be called upon to assist in a hostile invasion of their native land, they showed every alacrity in the service, and it was evident that patriotism with them weighed nothing in the scale against the regular pay and ample rations which they received from their country's enemies. During the artillery duel before the fort these men had stood, with the scaling ladders, ready to advance to the walls, and at the word of command ran readily forward and, planting their ladders against the fort, helped the storming party up. There was the usual result, for though the Chinese garrison fought with some bravery they were speedily vanquished. So soon as the garrison of the outer northern fort (there were two large forts on the north bank of the river and three on the south) saw that the Allies had secured this first position, they hoisted white flags and allowed the Allied troops to march in without firing a shot. A curious sight met the eyes of the victors as they entered. Two thousand men were seated on the ground who neither moved nor spoke. " They had thrown away their arms and had divested themselves of all uniform or distinctive badges that could distinguish them as being soldiers."

These men were made prisoners, but doubt was still felt as to the attitude of the garrisons on the southern side of the river. It is true that white flags had been hoisted on the forts on that side, but so much uncertainty existed as to the meaning of these symbols in Chinese hands that it was thought advisable to communicate with the viceroy and to receive the submission of the fortress from him before crossing the river in force. Parkes, Loch, and Major Anson were therefore sent across to Taku to find the redoubtable Hang Fu. This astute official received them hospitably, showing at the same time a suspicious inclination to detain them as long as possible. It subsequently transpired that his intentions were really the very opposite to his professions, and that while plying them with tea and sweetmeats his emissaries were engaged in searching for Sankolinsin, with a view to making his visitors prisoners.

Fortunately for them, Sankolinsin, alter the fall of the northern forts, had mounted his horse and ridden to Peking. In a memorial which at this time he addressed to the throne, he admitted that the Barbarians had captured the forts, but besought the emperor not to be the least alarmed, as his troops were still well able to protect the capital from the presence of the presumptuous foe. When Hang Fu's emissaries returned to their master and reported the flight of the defeated general, he allowed his foreign guests to depart, who on their way back discovered that a small force had already, during their absence, taken possession of the southern forts.

The road to Tientsin was now open, and the admiral lost no time in clearing away the obstructions at the mouth of the river. These were of an extremely formidable character. Huge pointed iron stakes, each several tons in weight, were securely fastened in the mud, while two huge booms, kept afloat by immense earthen water-jars, made the entrance to the river impossible. With much difficulty these were removed, and the smaller vessels of the fleet peaceably steamed by the embrasures which had wrought such havoc in the preceding year. Meanwhile Hang Fu had started for Tientsin, where he met Hanki, the late Hoppo of Canton, and Wangts'üan, who had been hastily dispatched from Peking to stay, if possible, the advance of the foreigners. One great annoyance experienced by the mandarins at this time was the attitude which the natives assumed toward the invaders. In 1858, when Lord Elgin first went up to Tientsin, the people in the villages through which he had passed had fallen on their knees before him, and had presented propitiatory offerings to mitigate his supposed wrath. Their experience had taught them, however, that so long as they maintained a peaceful demeanor they had nothing to fear from Englishmen, and on this occasion when he and his colleague, Baron Gros, advanced through the same hamlets the people had, without cringing or undue adulation, offered the produce of their fields and gardens readily for sale. A similar attitude adopted by the men of the Coolie corps was referred to in a memorial by Sankolinsin, which was discovered in the archives of the Summer Palace, in which he stated that the Allied forces were for the most part composed of Cantonese, who had joined the invaders for the sake of profit; and he recommended that an offer of additional pay and perquisites should be made to bribe them to come over in a body to the imperial side. Parkes, who was sent in advance to

Tientsin, found the people there of the same mind with the villagers. They eagerly responded to his inquiries after provisions, and voluntarily formed a committee of supply to provide commissariat stores for the army.

At Tientsin Hang Fu was on the watch for Lord Elgin, and no sooner had the steamer carrying the ambassador anchored off the Bund than the viceroy appeared and invited him to become his guest during his stay in the city. This was a piece of naïveté to which only a Chinaman could have been equal, and Lord Elgin curtly informed him that the Allied troops being now in occupation of Tientsin, he should take up his residence in the building which suited him best. The advance of the Barbarian forces had produced some consternation at Peking, and the emperor dispatched the Grand Secretary Kweiliang, who had been one of the signatories of the treaty of 1858, to join Hang Fu in arranging a peace with the foreigners. Without any loss of time the commissioners sought to open negotiations with Lord Elgin, who met their overtures by replying that the conditions on which he was prepared to suspend hostilities were as follows: "First, an apology for the attack on the Allied forces at Peiho. Second, the ratification and execution of the Treaty of Tientsin. Third, the payment of an indemnity to the Allies for the expenses of the naval and military preparations."

With apparent readiness the commissioners agreed to these terms, but raised, as has always been their wont, a number of objections on matters of detail. It is a recognized practice among the Chinese in similar cases to send in the first instance commissioners who are ostensibly deputed to make peace, but who are denied the necessary plenipotentiary powers. The object of this maneuver is plain. Should the commissioners agree to any terms distasteful to the emperor, it is open to him to ignore the agreement, on the plea that his envoys had no power to pledge him to any terms. During the late war with Japan two of these futile missions were sent to negotiate peace before full powers were granted to Li Hung Chang, and in the same way, when it became necessary to examine the credentials of Kweiliang and his colleague, it was found that they had no power whatever to conclude a convention. Lord Elgin, therefore, declined further negotiations with them, and continued his march northward, at the same time giving them notice that he would listen to no further overtures of any kind until he had arrived at Tungchow, in the neighborhood of Peking.

On September 9 Lord Elgin and Sir Hope Grant left Tientsin, and a day or two later reached Hosiwu, which stands about halfway between Tientsin and the capital. Here they were met by a letter from Tsai, Prince of I, who with two colleagues announced his arrival to treat. At the same time he took occasion to add his supreme princely astonishment at the advance of the Allies beyond Tientsin, and strongly urged the British minister to give the necessary orders for the troops to retreat. This proposal was typical of the native folly of the Chinese, and met with the answer which it deserved. The prince was told that no negotiations would be entered upon before the arrival of the Allies at Tungchow. As time was precious, however, and as the autumn was already coming on apace, Lord Elgin determined to send Wade and Parkes in advance to Tungchow, there to negotiate a preliminary convention with the commissioners. The commissioners received these envoys with cordiality, and the Prince of I, who was possessed of a fine presence and courtly bearing, treated them with especial civility. After a discussion of eight hours' duration, terms were agreed upon, and "it was arranged that the Allied armies were to advance within ten or twelve miles of Tungchow, where they were to remain, while the ambassadors proceeded to Peking accompanied by a large escort. It was agreed also that Parkes was to return on Monday to Tungchow to make a few final arrangements."

On the day appointed Parkes, accompained by Loch, De Norman, an attaché, Bowlby, the *Times* correspondent, the quartermaster-general of cavalry, Colonel Walker, and Thompson of the commissariat, with an escort of King's Dragoon Guards, and Fane's Horse, under the command of Lieutenant Anderson, started for Tungchow. On the road they met with some cavalry pickets, which retired as they advanced, and their way was once stopped by a mandarin at the head of a small force of cavalry, who however let them pass so soon as he became aware of their mission. Unexpectedly, however, the commissioners, who before had been so genial, raised countless and vexatious objections to many of the points which had been agreed upon, and more especially to the reception of the ambassador at Peking, and the delivery of the letter of credence to the emperor. "The tone adopted by the

Prince of I and other commissioners was almost offensive, and they scarcely cared to conceal the repugnance with which they viewed us, and their disinclination to come to terms."

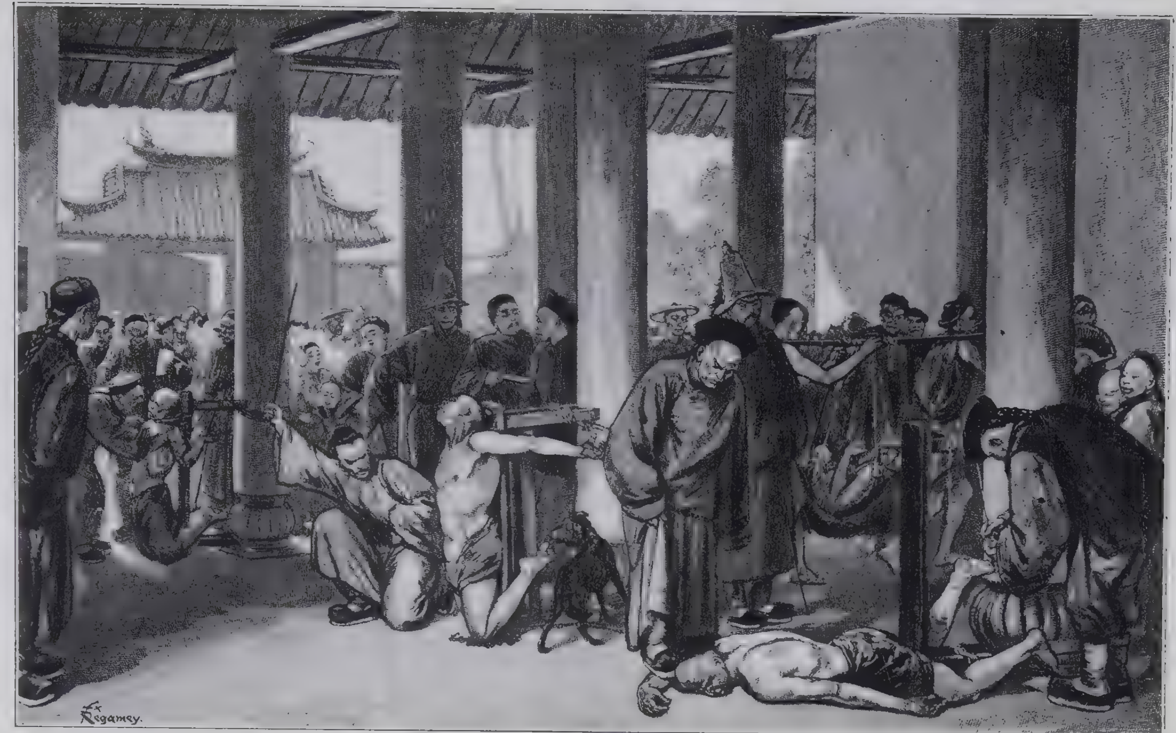
After a lengthy discussion, however, an arrangement was arrived at, and at twelve o'clock at night Parkes returned to his rooms, with a draft agreement in his pocket. Meanwhile Sankolinsin had been busily employed. He was deeply concerned to avenge his defeats at Taku, and he thought that chance had now thrown the opportunity into his hands. In conjunction with the commissioners he arranged that the camping ground, which it was proposed to allot to the Allied troops, should be so situated as to enable him to surround it with his warriors. The force under his command consisted of eighty thousand men, and he felt confident that in a surprise attack he would be able to overwhelm, once and for all, the four or five thousand Barbarians who were presumptuous enough to oppose themselves to him. Being well aware that Parkes would be early on the field, he moved his troops with secrecy and dispatch to their allotted posts. But not so secretly as to conceal their movements entirely from the observation of Parkes and Loch, who had ridden out between five and six o'clock in the morning to examine the camping ground. On the three sides of the allotted space men were posted behind every hillock, in every grove of trees, and in the deeper water courses. Such unusual and secret preparations at once induced Parkes to recognize that treachery was intended, and he asked Loch to ride forward to apprise Sir Hope Grant of the ambush which was being laid for him, while he returned to Tungchow to demand from the commissioners an explanation of the threatening aspect of affairs, and to warn those who had been left behind of their danger.

The Prince of I, whom Parkes after difficulty discovered, had now quite thrown off his disguise of the evening before, and curtly informed his unwelcome visitor that until the question of delivering the letter of credence was settled " there could be no peace, there must be war." Loch, with that rare loyalty which we are accustomed to regard as belonging to the Anglo-Saxon race, asked and obtained permission to return to Tungchow " to rejoin Parkes and the others, to urge on them the utmost expedition, and, if possible, to endeavor to find some other road by which we could extricate ourselves."

Captain Brabazon of the artillery and two Sikhs accompanied him, and after experiencing some difficulty in getting through the Chinese lines the party reached Tungchow. Having collected all their fellows, they returned together in the direction of the British camp. By this time Sankolinsin had given up all pretensions to concealment, and the escape of the Englishmen was constantly impeded by the masses of troops which were marching southward. The camping ground itself was fully occupied, and Parkes and his friends at last found their way barred by a strong detachment of Chinese troops. The Chinese officer in command refused to yield them passage, and informed Parkes that his only chance of safety lay in his being able to get a pass through the lines from Sankolinsin. As this appeared to be the only hope of safety, Parkes and Loch, taking a Sikh with them, followed the mandarin to Sankolinsin's tent.

That chieftain greeted them with triumphant jeers and laughter, and his followers, taking their cue from their chief, dragged the foreigners off their horses and buffeted them on the head, while others rubbed their faces in the dirt. Sankolinsin shared the opinion of the commissioners and others that Parkes was able, if he chose to exercise his powers, to stop the fighting at any moment, and he called upon him now to issue an order for the arrest of the Allied forces. Parkes naturally refused so absurd a request, and Sankolinsin, having lost his temper at meeting with this opposition, would probably have given vent to violence had not an officer hastily ridden up with the announcement that his presence was required at the front. Meanwhile the Chinese had made prisoners of the rest of the party with the exception of Colonel Walker, Thompson, and the men of the King's Dragoon Guards, who had gradually become separated from their comrades. This detachment, finding that the Chinese soldiers were becoming aggressive and violent in their demeanor, charged through their ranks and escaped to the British lines. Immediately following on their flight the battle began, and the sound of the guns was a signal for Parkes and Loch to be carried off in search of the Prince of I. In a springless wooden cart and tightly bound they were driven to Tungchow, through the streets of which city they were carried in triumph, amid the jeers and insults of the people who the day before had offered them obsequious politeness. But the Prince of I was not to be found, and was reported to have started for Peking. The prisoners were, therefore, hurried on the road after him. It was said, however, that he had subsequently returned to Tungchow, and in this uncertainty the guard deemed it best to take the prisoners before General Juilin, who commanded another army on the Peking side of Tungchow. Juilin behaved to the captives with the utmost brutality, and, after subjecting them to the grossest insults, ordered their removal to a small temple in the neighborhood, where they were searched and everything valuable taken from them, including papers. After a short rest they were made to kneel in the courtyard before a posse of mandarins, several of whom they recognized as having been among the *entourage* of the commissioners on the day before. But bad news from Changchiawan, the field of battle, was beginning to arrive, and their inquisitors suddenly rode off to effect their own escape, leaving their victims to the tender mercies of the soldiers, who showed every disposition to behead them. Eventually, however, the prisoners were again thrown bound into a cart and driven off to Peking. Anyone who has had the misfortune to travel in a Chinese cart, even when all the alleviations possible have been brought into requisition, will readily understand the intense agony which must have been endured by men bound as the prisoners were, and driven quickly over the terrible road which separates Tungchow from Peking. The miseries through which they had gone since their capture were terrible, but the acme of mental torture was reached when they were driven into the courtyard of the Hsing Pu, or Board of Punishments. "This is indeed worse than I expected," said Parkes. "We are in the worst prison in China; we are in the hands of torturers; this is the Board of Punishments."

This gloomy building has its foundation in the very earliest records of the Chinese race, and native historians find references to the precursors of the horrible prison which now disgraces the capital of China in the reigns of sovereigns who ruled the empire even before fable developed into history. The officials, doubtless acting under orders, assumed from the first a most uncompromising attitude toward their foreign captives. They bound them with chains, they subjected them to every kind of indignity, and added a further cruelty by separating them. Loch gives the following description of his first entrance into his dungeon: "My jailer went up to the door and gave three heavy blows, crying out at the same time. A most unearthly yell from the inside was the reply, the door was thrown open, and I found myself in the presence of,



ADMINISTRATION OF CHINESE JUSTICE

Painting by F. Regamey

and surrounded by, as savage a lot of half-naked demons as I had ever beheld; they were nearly all the lowest caste of criminals imprisoned for murder and the most serious offenses. There were about fifty in all, of whom some eighteen or twenty were chained like myself, but with far lighter irons. A few of the prisoners were better dressed than the others." The capture and imprisonment of the captives had been a subject of congratulation and rejoicing to the emperor and his advisers, who from their safe retreat in the hunting palace at Jehol in Mongolia, whither the "Son of Heaven" had fled on the approach of the Allied armies, still directed the affairs of state. At this time the war party was in power, and being composed of men who were quite ignorant of foreigners, and who were possessed with an overwhelming idea of the power and prestige of China, had with light hearts nailed their flag to the mast of no compromise. It was still their belief that Parkes could put an end to the march of the troops if he pleased, and if he did not so please, they were quite content to put him to death and to allow the army to fight the matter out. Under the inspiration of these men the president of the Board of Punishments and his satellites indulged in every insolence and cruelty toward the prisoners, and if they stopped short of actual physical torture, it was only with the idea that it might diminish the possible usefulness of their victims. It is not often that foreigners become acquainted with the inside of Chinese prisons, and it is interesting to dwell for a moment on one of the rooms in which Loch was examined on his knees and which recalls the horrors of the Inquisition. "On one side of this dungeon," Loch writes, "was a table behind which three mandarins were seated. There were various iron implements lying on the table, and the walls were hung with chains and other disagreeable instruments the use of which it was unpleasant too closely to investigate. On one side of the room was a low bench, at each end of which was a small windlass, round which a rope was coiled; the use to which this machine might be applied admitted of no doubt." For ten days the officials kept their prisoners closely confined in their loathsome dens, and at the end of that time circumstances arose which induced them to move Parkes and Loch to a temple in the northwest quarter of the city, where they were well treated and allowed their liberty within the four walls of the building.

In order to make the story of this period clear, it is necessary now to revert to the proceedings on the day of the capture of the prisoners. It will be remembered that the battle of Changchiawan was opening when the supreme act of treachery was perpetrated. Unfortunately for Sankolinsin's scheme, events were precipitated before his arrangements could be brought to perfection, and the unexpected advance of the Allies somewhat disconcerted his plans. The enormous force of Tartar cavalry under his command, however, did their utmost to check the onslaught of the Barbarians. They charged repeatedly and with considerable courage, while the artillery served their guns with steadiness and effect. But they were quite unable to resist the fire and cavalry of the invaders, and after making a considerable stand, they tottered, turned, and fled, leaving seventy-four guns in the hands of the victors and countless dead upon the field. So soon as the fate of the day was decided, Sankolinsin took to flight, and only stayed to rally his fugitive forces when he joined hands with Juilin on the Peking side of Tungchow. A day or two later these combined forces suffered another crushing defeat at Palichiao, or "Eight-mile Bridge," a spot which is emphasized in the French annals as having supplied the title of Count de Palichiao which was conferred on General Montauban.

After the flight of the emperor to Jehol, Prince Kung, his brother, was practically left in command on the spot. He took up his residence at Yuan-ming-yuan, the Summer Palace, in company with the dowager empress, and there received from time to time the dreary reports of his country's defeats. The news of the disaster at Changchiawan no sooner reached him than he recognized the wisdom of doing his utmost to prevent, if possible, an attack on the capital. He hurried, therefore, to meet the enemy, and dispatched in advance a letter to Lord Elgin stating that he held plenipotentiary powers for the negotiation of peace. At the same time he had the temerity to urge a request for a temporary suspension of hostilities. Lord Elgin's answer was short. He gave his correspondent to understand that he would not for an instant entertain any proposals for peace until the prisoners were given up, and he warned the prince of the serious consequences that would be entailed on the city of Peking, and even on the fortunes of the dynasty itself, if in their blind folly the Chinese compelled the allies to attack the capital. With this rebuff Kung returned to Yuan-ming-yuan, and, resigning all hope of peace, gave directions for strengthening and defending the walls of Peking. Meanwhile the invaders marched unopposed along the east face of the city, the French being on the right, in company with some of the British cavalry. There had been some talk of marching on Yuan-ming-yuan, and the French, perhaps regarding the arrangement as more definite than it really was, crossed the rear of the British unobserved and marched straight on the palace. This move was so sudden that Prince Kung and the dowager empress were yet in the palace when the French appeared before the gates. With all haste the imperial personages escaped from the back, leaving a party of eunuchs and one or two mandarins to watch proceedings. One of these officials, Wang by name, who took possession of a pavilion at the back of the premises and there awaited events, related to the writer his experiences. The first visitors who intruded on his privacy were two or three Sikhs who had followed the French to the imperial quarters. "These men," said Wang, "looked round the room and took anything they fancied, but left me unmolested. Presently there entered some French soldiers, who took the pipe out of my mouth, broke off the jade stone mouthpiece, and pocketed it. I then thought it was time to go, and I followed Prince Kung to a temple on the hills to the north of the palace."

Yuan-ming-yuan was the favorite palace of the emperor. It was there where he sought relief from the cares of state, and it was there that some of the prisoners had been taken and had been cruelly tortured. The grounds covered an enormous extent, and countless pavilions of all forms and shapes stood on every spot where the natural lie of the land or the skill of landscape gardeners yielded appropriate sites. The gardens were bright with every kind of flowering shrub and plant. Quaint bridges crossed the streams and lakes and led to buildings full of rare and priceless objects. There were collected the choicest specimens of porcelain from Kintêching, bronzes from Soochow, and jade ornaments from the quarries of Central Asia, while curiosities from Europe—watches and clocks from France, and objects of a more prosaic nature from England, as, for instance, the carriage presented by George III. to the Emperor Ch'ienlung—thronged the halls. All these stores of wealth were now at the mercy of the Allies, and for some days the palaces were looted without check by the troops of both armies. This last catastrophe disposed Prince Kung to listen with a more willing ear to Lord Elgin's demand for the surrender of one of the gates of the city, and after some show of hestitation he found it wise to yield to circumstances. It had been made clear to him that there could be no peace so long as his demand was refused, and though to submit to it was as gall and wormwood to him, he finally gave way, and handed over the Anting Gate, on the north face of the city, to the allied commanders.

Meanwhile the council of state sitting at Jehol had maintained a resolutely anti-foreign attitude. While the troops were advancing from Tungchow on Peking, the emperor's advisers had been discussing the fate which was to be meted out to Parkes and Loch. In their headstrong folly they eventually determined, against the advice of Prince Kung, that they should die, and a messenger was dispatched to Peking with a warrant for their immediate execution. Happily the peace party at Peking, consisting of Prince Kung, Hang-ki, and others, had their spies at Jehol, and the instant that the death warrant was signed a swift courier was sent with all haste to the prince to inform him of the fact. This fleet-footed envoy arrived at Peking early in the morning of October 8, with news that the imperial messenger was following closely at his heels. If the prisoners were to be saved, therefore, there was no time to be lost, and Hang-ki at once went to the temple to which they had been removed and announced to them the glad tidings of their immediate release. Two days previously this same officer had solemnly stated to them that their execution was fixed, first of all, for that same evening, and then for the next morning. This further message of their proposed release was, therefore, received by them with some reserve, and Parkes, assuming an indifference which he was far from feeling, at once renewed a conversation on the motion of the moon, which had been cut short on the previous day. Hang-ki's manner and impatience, however, soon convinced him that his tidings were really true, and at two o'clock in the day this conviction was confirmed by the appearance in the courtyard of a covered cart, into which the prisoners, who were now to be free men, were hastily placed and sent out of the city. Being in ignorance as to the exact position of the Allied forces, they were uncertain which way to direct the driver, but going toward Yuan-ming-yuan they fell in with a British guard, and at once had the satisfaction of feeling that they were at last safe indeed. At the same time eight sowars of Fane's Horse and one French officer were restored to liberty. The remaining prisoners had perished in the hands of their torturers, and their remains, which were handed over by the Chinese to the Allied commanders, were buried with all honors in the Russian cemetery at Peking. A quarter of an hour after the cart which carried Parkes and Loch had passed out of the city gate, the warrant arrived for their execution; and as Hang-ki afterward said to Parkes, "if your deliverance had been only delayed a quarter of an hour even Prince Kung's influence could not have saved you."

The stories which the recovered prisoners had to tell of their captivity, and the sight of the cruelly mangled bodies of those who had died in their dungeons, aroused such deep and violent indignation at the treachery and brutality of the Chinese that Lord Elgin felt that some signal punishment should be inflicted on the government. In this conviction he wrote to Prince Kung to inform him that as a protest against the infamous conduct of the ruling powers he had determined to destroy the Summer Palace. In meting out his punishment he was guided by the principle that the penalty should be inflicted on the emperor and his personal belongings rather than on the people, who were comparatively innocent of the crime. Due notice having been given, a force was marched into the palace, and fire was set to the buildings, which were speedily laid level with the ground. For several days the conflagration raged, and, a northwest wind happening to blow at the time, the smoke hung for days like a black pall over the city of Peking.

Though the war party at Jehol were still breathing out fire and slaughter against the foreigners, Prince Kung was quietly negotiating the terms of the treaty. By an act of poetical justice the Prince of I's house was appropriated as the temporary residence of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, and on October 24, when a complete agreement had been arrived at, these ministers met Prince Kung at the Hall of Ceremonies, and there concluded the treaty which has guided the relation between China and the Western nations to the present day. With some reluctance the emperor issued an edict authorizing the publication of the treaty throughout the empire, and after this final act the ministers, accompanied by the troops, left Peking.

A time of great doubt and uncertainty followed on the conclusion of peace. It is in most cases difficult to determine the true motives of Chinese statesmen, but in the present instance there was no trace of ambiguity in the attitude of the anti-foreign party at

Jehol. To Prince Kung, who had seen the Allied armies, who had recognized their strength, and who had felt their power, the idea of bringing about another war appeared downright madness. In this firm belief he used his utmost endeavors to induce the emperor to move his court to Peking, where he felt that he might have some chance of influencing the counsels of his brother. This proposal was vehemently and successfully resisted by the Prince of I, Shu Shun, and other evil counselors who surrounded the inert and feeble "Son of Heaven." Throughout all these negotiations Prince Kung's hopes rested, and as it was ultimately proved, with good reason, on the empress, who was an able woman and who had considerable influence over her husband. Hsienfêng himself was little more than a lay figure, and not unfrequently the members of his council flagrantly disobeyed with impunity his express commands. During the winter of 1860-1861 court intrigues, and more or less open contests, were continually in progress, and the only hope of continued peace rested on the wished-for triumph of Prince Kung over his truculent opponents. Associated with Prince Kung were Grand Secretary Wênhsiang and Hang-ki, who were all honestly desirous, in the circumstances, of maintaining peace. They probably had as little affection for foreigners as either the Prince of I or Shu Shun, and indeed in a moment of confidence Hang-ki said to Parkes, while he was yet in his bonds, "Do not mistake; it is not for the sake of yourselves individually that I advocate your release; far from it; for, if I thought it would benefit our position, I would advocate your death; but it is because I know your people. I am better acquainted with their powers of destruction than the other commissioners are. I know they will carry out their threat and destroy Peking if harm falls on you two; this will bring misery on the people and destruction upon us." This outspoken utterance is faithfully descriptive of the attitude of ninety-nine out of every hundred mandarins who are at the present date said to be amicably disposed toward foreigners.

But though peace with the foreigners was restored, *Væ victis* was the cry in the distracted imperial council, and the ratification of the treaties had no sooner been exchanged than the following edict appeared in the *Peking Gazette:* [1] "Let Sankolinsin be deprived of his nobility; let Juilin [who it will be remembered commanded in the neighborhood of Tungchow] be immediately deprived of his office, as a warning. Respect this." This was the beginning of the fall of Sankolinsin, and though he was subsequently employed against the Nienfei rebels he remained under a cloud of official displeasure, and was eventually treacherously murdered by some of his own followers. In no country in the world is success regarded so emphatically as a sign of merit as in China, and the reverse—*viz.*, that failure is synonymous with incompetence, holds good. Unsuccessful generals in the flowery land find their way, as a rule, to the execution ground, and it is probable that Sankolinsin's relationship with the emperor alone saved his life on this occasion.

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[1] The *Peking Gazette,* which endures to-day, is the oldest periodical in the world, having been founded by Mingti in the eighth century A. D.

During the winter of 1860-1861 the emperor remained at Jehol much against the advice of Prince Kung and his colleagues, who felt that his absence from the capital at this crisis was a virtual abdication of his imperial functions. But to all admonition from this quarter he turned a deaf ear, and at the inspiration of his *entourage* listened greedily to the false accounts of the disorders which were said by his interested advisers to prevail in the capital. As the summer drew on his health began to fail. It was said that he caught a succession of bad chills, and it is possible that this may have been the case, for though quite a young man his strength was seriously undermined by the constant debaucheries and acts of self-indulgence which made up his daily life. At this time a comet appeared in the skies, an occurrence which is universally regarded in China as an evil omen. The alarm occasioned by this sign in the heavens was excessive and prepared the people for the reports which spread at the beginning of August as to the alarming state of the emperor's health. So serious was the condition of things that Prince Kung determined to go to Jehol, as he rightly considered that his only chance of retaining power lay in his being able to combine with the empress against the intrigues of the Prince of I and others, who still held the emperor's confidence.

The political atmosphere at Jehol was not a congenial one to the prince, and though he succeeded in forming a most useful alliance with the empress, which was destined to lead to great consequences, he made no impression whatever on the emperor, who was evidently very near death. Prince Kung had only just returned to Peking when the well-known literary precursor of the end appeared in the shape of the usual edict appointing a successor to the throne. This document was as follows: "Let Tsai Ch'un, the eldest son of the emperor, be crown prince. Our eldest son Tsai Ch'un being now constituted crown prince, let Ts'ai Yuan, Prince of I; Twan Hwa, Prince of Ching; Ching Shou; Shu Shun; Mu Yin; Kwan Yüan; Tu Han; Tsiang Yuying, with all their might aid him as counselors in all things pertaining to the administration of the government." On August 22 the emperor died, and the crown prince was proclaimed emperor under the style of Chihsiang. As the new emperor was but four years old the conduct of affairs passed even more definitely than had been the case before, into the hands of the anti-foreign council appointed as above.

For a time things went smoothly; the foreign relations were conducted by Prince Kung, Prince Ch'un, the father of the present emperor, Grand Secretary Wênhsiang, and the veteran Kweiliang, while the general administration of the empire was conducted from Jehol. This was plainly a state of things which could not continue to exist, and toward the end of October it was announced that the youthful "Son of Heaven" would return at once to Peking followed by the funeral cortège of his father. This decision brought matters to a crisis, and forced on a trial of strength between the two parties in the state. The ladies of the harem were the first to arrive at Peking. These were shortly followed by the boy emperor, who entered his capital seated on his mother's knee, and attended by the council of state, with the exception of Shu Shun, whose duty it was to escort the remains of the late emperor. Prince Kung's visit to Jehol was now to bear fruit, and the Peking world was thrown into a state of wild excitement by the appearance of an edict purporting by a pious fiction to proceed from the hand of the emperor dismissing the Jehol courtiers from their offices, and ordering that the Princes of I and Ching with Shu Shun, should be put on their trial for having deceived their imperial master, and for having grossly mismanaged the affairs of state. At the same time a second decree appeared appointing the two dowager empresses, the wife of Hsienfêng and the mother of the emperor, regents of the empire. Two precedents for the administration's being entrusted to an empress were easily established by the Hanlin doctors, both during the Ming Dynasty, when the Emperors Chitsong and Wanleh were in their minority.

With these two state papers in his hand, Prince Kung presented himself forthwith before the assembled council, and having read in their astonished ears the sentence of their degradation, he demanded to know whether they were prepared to submit to the imperial commands. Kung had not been unmindful of the possibility of opposition, and he had strengthened his position by massing large bodies of troops under General Shêng Pao, on whom he could implicitly rely, in the neighborhood of the capital. His enemies, recognizing their impotence, at once declared their submission to the decrees, and left the council chamber in a body, but not before the Prince of I and Prince Ching had both been taken into custody.

But the ablest and in every way most formidable of the intriguers was Shu Shun, and he still remained at large, a menace to Kung's complete triumph. Prince Ch'un was therefore sent with a body of Tartar cavalry to arrest the offender on his way from Jehol, in command of the funeral procession, and before he should be warned by news of his colleagues' fate. It so chanced that the prince came upon his prey late at night at one of the imperial traveling palaces on the road. Without the slightest compunction he broke in upon the peaceful slumbers of Shu Shun. The fact that Shu Shun had brought the ladies of his harem in his company, while on the sacred and solemn duty of escorting the remains of his late imperial master to their last resting-place, was held to aggravate his offenses. With stolid indifference Shu Shun yielded to superior force, and submitted to enter Peking as a prisoner.

No time was lost in putting the prisoners on trial. In Eastern countries only one sentence is possible in such a case, and all three offenders were condemned to death. Shu Shun was declared worthy of *Lingeh'ih,* or the lingering process, while the two princes were sentenced to be beheaded. The severity of these verdicts was mercifully mitigated by the dowager empresses, who sent Shu Shun to decapitation on the execution ground, and as an act of grace allowed the two princes to perform the happy dispatch by strangling themselves in prison.

But the work of neutralization was not yet thought complete. Chinese polity dictated that every trace of the connection of the late board of regents with the emperor's reign should be obliterated. The name of Chisiang had been chosen by the council, and this, if retained, would serve to perpetuate in the annals of the nation the record of the fallen ministers' brief period of power. From the Chinese standpoint the question was one of extreme importance and after considerable deliberation the name of T'ungchih was declared to be a satisfactory substitute. The new name of the emperor signified the " union of law and order " and undoubtedly had reference to the circumstances which made necessary a reselection of title. How far it was destined to apply to the short reign of the young " Son of Heaven " remains to be seen.

PART III

THE MODERN PHASE OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE. 1860-1906

Chapter X

THE T'AIP'ING REBELLION. 1859-1862

BEFORE the outbreak of the foreign war the T'aip'ing Rebellion, as we have seen, had been gradually dying out from want of vigor and initiative, and the two cities of Nanking and Anking were the only two places of importance remaining in the occupation of the rebels. But when it became necessary for the government to defend the capital against the Allies, every available soldier was sent northward, and the local authorities were left to cope as best they might with the followers of the "Heavenly King." But though the rebels were thus relieved of a great strain, they would probably have been unable to avert an immediate collapse had it not been for the Chung Wang, or Faithful Prince, who throughout his whole career showed a staunch loyalty to the cause, and a marked capacity for military tactics. The T'ienwang was lost in a slough of debauchery within his palace at Nanking, and with the exception of Chung Wang none of the rebel leaders showed any considerable power of organization or any love of fighting. At this time, 1859, Nanking was closely invested by the troops under Tsêng Kwofan, and it is beyond question that the city would before long have fallen into the hands of the imperialists if Chung Wang had not come forward to its relief. He instinctively saw that, beleaguered as they were, it had become merely a question of time how long the provisions in the city would hold out, and he recognized that the only remedy left to the garrison was to raise the siege by an attack from outside. With the sanction of the "Heavenly King" he undertook this duty, and having made his way through the imperial lines, succeeded in collecting a rebel force at Wuhu. With these recruits he crossed the Yangtsze to the north bank, and laid siege to, and captured, the important city of Hochow in Anhui. This was the beginning of a series of successes. City after city fell into his hands, until the whole country on the north side of the river opposite Nanking passed into the possession of the rebels. Chung Wang's main effort, however, was directed to cutting off the base of supplies from which the imperial army before Nanking drew its resources, and to harrying its supports. With these objects in view he crossed the river, and after a rapid march, during which he captured several positions, he suddenly appeared before the celebrated city of Hangchow. With comparative ease he made himself master of this important town, and was on the point of following up his successes by delivering an attack on Soochow when he received a positive command from the "Heavenly King" to march at once to the relief of the closely beleaguered garrison of Nanking. Without a moment's delay he started on his mission, and on arrival at the scene of action at once gave battle to the besieging force. Possessed with unbounded energy himself he succeeded on this, as on many other occasions, in imparting the same invaluable quality to his troops. With irresistible vigor they charged on the imperial lines. The battle was hotly contested, and ended in a complete victory to the rebels, who dissipated the imperial army and slew five thousand of its best troops.

Having achieved this signal success the Faithful Prince returned with the intention of completing his sinister designs against Soochow. But his way was not straight before him, for at some distance to the north of the doomed city was stationed an opposing army led by Tsêng's chief and ablest lieutenant, Chang Kwoliang. Here again the imperialists were completely defeated with a loss of ten thousand men, but an even greater misfortune to their cause was the death of their able commander, who by some strange misadventure was drowned in the Grand Canal during the progress of the fighting. After another stubborn engagement with the remainder of the imperial forces, led by Chang's brother, Chung Wang entered the city of Wusieh in triumph. It now seemed as though a vital, and, from their point of view, a most encouraging turn had been given to the affairs of the rebels. So fully was this realized that the imperialist General Ho, who had commanded at Wusieh, despairing of his master's cause, committed suicide.

The imperialists were now in desperate straits, while in the north the dynasty was suffering a rude shock (May, 1860) at the immediate prospect of an invasion by the Allied armies. We have seen how Yeh, at Canton, while flouting the English one day, was ready to beseech their help against the local rebels on the next, and guided by the same instinct for self-preservation, Ho, the viceroy of the two Kiang provinces, even went the length of begging for the help of some of the foreign troops, who were collecting at Shanghai preparatory to the campaign in the north, for the suppression of the advancing T'aip'ings. This request was of course refused, but at the same time the viceroy was informed that the Allies would protect the city and settlement of Shanghai from any assaults that the rebels might make upon them. Meanwhile the Faithful Prince pursued his victorious career. In rapid succession the cities of Soochow, Quinsan, Tsingpu, and Taitsan yielded to his arms, and thus it may be said that the whole of the rich peninsula formed by the River Yangtze and the Bay of Hangchow had passed into the hands of the rebels. The news of these fresh disasters had no sooner reached Peking than the viceroy Ho received orders to present himself at Peking for judgment. It is difficult to know what more he could have done with the materials at his disposal. But his crime was failure to preserve the provinces intrusted to him, and after a short shrift he was executed.

The approach of the rebel legions to the neighborhood of Shanghai gave rise to considerable consternation in the minds of native merchants, who, cut off, as they now were, from the districts which supplied them with silks, satins, and teas, felt that their occupations might be considered to be gone unless they could by some means help the government in its present and pressing difficulties. Like the late viceroy they turned to Europeans for help, and established a patriotic association which they supported with large sums for the protection of their country's weal. At Li Hung Chang's instigation they engaged the services of two adventurous Americans named Ward and Burgevine, who were instructed to collect as many stray Europeans as might be found on the spot available and willing to take up arms in the emperor's cause. It was arranged by the wealthy Chinese merchants of the association that this auxiliary force should under any circumstances receive a certain fixed rate of pay, and that their stipends should be liberally supplemented by rewards in return for every city or stronghold they might take. To the southwest of Shanghai, at a distance of about twenty miles, stood the rebel stronghold of Sungkiang Fu. The proximity of this place and its strategic importance induced the association to desire that it should be the first point of attack. To this Ward agreed, and at the head of about three hundred Europeans and natives of Manila, he led the assault, Burgevine acting as quartermaster to the expedition. The first onslaught was repulsed with considerable loss, and Ward returned discomfited to Shanghai to supply the deficiencies in his ranks. Having thus succeeded in gaining fresh recruits, he renewed the attack, and this time with success. The amount of plunder secured in this venture was very considerable, and the liberal douceurs which were distributed among the troops gained increased popularity for the force. In a seaport like Shanghai there is always a floating population of ne'er-do-weels, who are ready for "treasons, stratagems, and spoils," and Ward found little difficulty in filling the gaps made in his ranks by wounds and death. The next object of attack was Tsingpu, a strong city whose fortifications had been designed and strengthened under the direction and guidance of an Englishman named Savage, who like many others had joined the rebel ranks.

As was the case before Sungkiang, Ward's first assault upon Tsingpu was unsuccessful, and he was at the same time still further discomfited by an attack on his rear delivered by the ever-alert Chung Wang, who not only utterly routed his force, but captured his artillery and stores. At the close of the Peking campaign the British authorities had leisure and opportunity to consider the position of affairs in the rebel districts, more especially in the neighborhood of Shanghai. That place had of late years become such an important emporium of trade that it was considered advisable to open negotiations with a view of placing it beyond the possibility of warlike disturbance. Admiral Hope therefore steamed up the river to Nanking, and in an interview with the "Heavenly King" pointed out the advisability, in his interest as well as in that of the British, of placing the port beyond the sphere of hostile action. The "Heavenly King" graciously accepted this view and gave his word that no attack should be made on Shanghai for at least one twelvemonth. The exaction of this promise was the more necessary and important as already the Faithful Prince had made one attack upon the city. He afterward stated that he had been invited to this venture by the French, but, however that may have been, he found on approaching the walls that they were defended by a garrison of English and French, before whose withering fire his men fled away dismayed. After some desultory fighting in the neighborhood of his defeat the Faithful Prince returned to

Soochow, whence he was hastily summoned to Nanking to relieve that city, which was being attacked for the sixth time by the imperialists. It is impossible to follow the various maneuvers, assaults, and sacks undertaken by that most energetic of commanders, the Faithful Prince. These actions lose much of their interest when we find that the T'aip'ing force was merely destructive. The general proceedings on capturing a city were to slaughter the inhabitants and to loot their homes, but in no sense to set up anything approaching to a stable administration. On the other hand the leisurely movements of the imperialists incline one to lose sympathy with men who, while engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the promoters of disorder, were so strangely wanting in energy and resource. But notwithstanding this apparent apathy it was becoming plain to careful observers that the imperialists were gradually closing round the rebels. The capture of Nanking by Tsêng Kwofan was a serious blow to their cause, and after that catastrophe the action shortly to be taken at Shanghai placed the rebels between a double fire.

So long, however, as the Faithful Prince was in command of the rebel armies successes were always possible, and his rapid captures of Ningpo and Hangchow for a time revived the falling hopes of the T'aip'ings. The year during which the "Heavenly King" had promised that no attack should be made on Shanghai had now expired, and Chung Wang, flushed by his temporary successes in the south, determined once more to lay siege to that city. In January, 1862, his troops arrived in the immediate vicinity of the town and settlement. Not wishing to repeat their former experience by making an actual attack on the walls, the rebels entrenched themselves in the neighborhood and devoted their leisure time to plundering the country side. In addition to the promise mentioned above, the "Heavenly King" had undertaken that his troops should not, under any circumstances, approach within a radius of thirty miles of the city. This undertaking was now plainly broken, and the allied commanders, fresh from the victories achieved over the imperialists at Peking, now undertook a campaign against the enemies of their former foes. Without much difficulty the foreign troops, although numerically infinitely inferior, drove back the invaders beyond the agreed-upon line, and recovered for the emperor the town and cities within that district. Meanwhile Ward's force, which had adopted the grandiloquent title of the

" Ever-victorious Army," was rapidly becoming an important factor in the situation. It numbered five thousand men and, by a constant and careful system of drill was assuming somewhat the position of a regular force. It ably supported General Staveley, who in March had arrived from Tientsin with part of two English regiments, and gained numerous victories single-handed over the rebels. But the necessity which compelled Ward, as it subsequently did Gordon, to place himself at the head of his men if he wished them to fight, at last proved fatal to him, and in an attack on the city of Tzŭki he received a wound which ended his life. He was a brave man, and though quite uneducated, had learned enough of military tactics to enable him to hold his own against the rebel leaders. It is illustrative of the amount of plunder obtainable under the imperial banner that although the deceased commander had only held the post for two years he left behind him a fortune of $75,000.

The man who was chosen to succeed him was his subordinate Burgevine, who was possessed of a more high-flying ambition than his predecessor, and who was loftily determined that if he commanded at all he would have his own way in everything. Li Hung Chang, who had meanwhile become governor of the province, was not a man to brook any such pretensions, and it was not long before a violent disagreement occurred between these two chiefs. The patriotic association, who were quite as distrustful of Burgevine as was the governor, entirely took his view of the position, and as they held the purse strings they were a power which it was all important to consider. They, together with Li, had been in the habit of providing about $150,000 a month for the support of the force, and they chose to make their authority felt by reducing this sum as soon as Burgevine came into power. The general was not likely to submit to such action, and he, thereupon, went to Shanghai with his bodyguard, and after a personal altercation with the banker who represented the association, in which even blows were struck, he impounded a considerable sum of money which he found on the premises, and carried it off to the camp. This made a breach which it was plainly impossible to bridge over, and Li dismissed Burgevine from his command. But it is ill swapping horses when in the midst of a stream, and the dismissal of Burgevine was followed by almost a mutiny among the troops and by the appointment of a Captain Holland, under whose command only one expedition and that an eminently unsuccessful one against T'aits'ang, was undertaken.

But a new turn was to be given to events by the appointment of Major Gordon to the command of the ever-victorious army *vice* Captain Holland. Gordon was a man who was known by his fellows as an officer of marked ability, great strength of character, and of unflinching courage. At the time of which we speak, he was engaged in making a survey of the country round Shanghai, a useful work which in other circumstances he would have been allowed to complete. But his help was immediately called for, and he no sooner received the appointment of commander to the force than he exchanged the theodolite for the sword, and marched out of Sungkiang to meet the enemy. His first objective was a place called Fushan, which fell an easy prey into his hands. The fall of this place entailed the evacuation by the rebels of Changshu, a neighboring stronghold, and thus Gordon's first engagement secured a double victory. Li Hung Chang was delighted with the success thus easily won, and he reported Gordon's generalship to the throne in glowing terms. In response he received a rescript which contained the following reference to the achievement: "Gordon, on succeeding to the command of the ever-victorious force, having displayed both valor and intelligence, and having now, with repeated energy, captured Fushan, we ordain that he at once receive rank and office as a Chinese Tsungping [general], and that we at the same time command Li to communicate to him the expressions of our approval. Let Gordon be further enjoined to use stringent efforts to maintain discipline in the ever-victorious force, which has fallen into a state of disorganization, and thus to guard against the recurrence of former evils. Respect this."

Next to Nanking the most important place in the possession of the rebels was Soochow, and it was now Li's main object to recover this city. As a preliminary step, however, it was necessary to capture the city of Kunshan (Quinsan) before advancing to the walls of the great stronghold, and at Li's instigation Gordon marched to undertake this initial venture. The successes which he had already gained, and the confidence which he had inspired, gave courage to his men; and they marched willingly to the attack, being not altogether unmindful, also, of the spoils which a successful assault would give them an opportunity of reaping. While yet on the way thither, however, Gordon received a pressing message from Li beseeching him to march on the city of T'aits'ang to avenge the defeat which his troops had suffered at that place. Li had been under the impression that the rebels were prepared to negotiate for the surrender of the town, and he was justified in his belief by the results of several interviews which his lieutenants had had with the rebel commanders. But in Chinese warfare it is never safe to trust in your adversary's professions, and when the rebels opened the gates and admitted fifteen hundred imperialists within the walls, it was only that they might the more easily cut them down to the last man.

The city was so strongly fortified that Gordon's first attack proved unsuccessful. A second assault, directed by more matured counsels, however, ended in a complete victory, and though Gordon had good reason for congratulating himself on the capture, his rejoicings were unhappily marred by one of those inhuman acts of cruelty which are inseparable from Oriental warfare. "Among the prisoners taken at T'aits'ang were seven notorious rebel chiefs, who were handed over by Gordon to the custody of the Chinese general.

It is not clear whether or not this officer communicated with Li on the fate of these captives, but it is clear that the inhuman punishment inflicted on them met with his approval, Oriental ideas on the subject of punishment differ so widely from our own that it is impossible to judge them by the same rules. Following a practice not at all uncommon, the Chinese general ordered the men to be fastened to crosses, to have arrows thrust through their flesh, to have strips of skin cut off from various parts of their bodies, and in this state to be exposed till sundown, and then beheaded."

Having avenged the defeat of Li's troops, Gordon was free to order an advance upon Kunshan. But he had forgotten that his men were mostly freebooters and only partly soldiers, and that after the capture of a city it was customary for them to carry their spoils to headquarters, *i.e.,* Sungkiang. The order, therefore, for an immediate advance aroused anger among the troops, and produced open mutiny among some of the regiments. To give in to these predatory habits would have been fatal to the efficiency of the corps, and Gordon, therefore, marched with those who fell into the ranks and warned the remainder that any man who was not in his place by the time the force had performed half its march, would be struck off the rolls. The result of this threat was most salutary. The mutineers submitted at once, and marched with their comrades to the attack. A General Ch'êng, in command of a Chinese force, had been appointed to act in concert with the ever-victorious army in the siege of Kunshan. This redoubtable officer knew as much about military tactics as most Chinese generals, and, after much reconnoitering he had come to the conclusion that the assault should be made on the side of the eastern gate. Gordon's knowledge of Chinese commanders prepared him for the discovery that his colleague had selected the strongest part of the defenses for the attack, and after a careful survey he was led to the conclusion that the weakest point was on the western side of the city. In front of this part of the walls were a number of stockades which were taken, not without some fighting, but with the result that the garrison of Kunshan, losing heart at the defeat of their comrades, evacuated the city and retreated along the raised causeway which connects Kunshan with Soochow. The exposed position of this roadway left the fugitives an easy prey to the guns of Gordon's artillery, and of the steamer *Hyson*, which enfiladed the causeway from the waters of the neighboring canal. It is said that during the day between three and four thousand of the rebels were killed, while Gordon's death roll amounted only to two who were killed in action and five who were drowned. Thus the key to Soochow was captured.

For several reasons, partly strategic and partly disciplinary, Gordon determined to make Kunshan the headquarters of the force. This move was bitterly resented by the rank and file, who, under the lax system of Ward and Burgevine, had been allowed a latitude which had destroyed in them the habit of implicit obedience. So strong was this want of discipline that they broke out into open mutiny at this supposed wrong. Gordon at once grappled with the difficulty. He readily divined that the non-commissioned officers were the centers of the dissatisfaction, and he took his measures accordingly. He announced to these sedition-mongers that unless within one hour the men fell in, every fifth man among them would be shot, and by way of pointing the moral of his threat, he ordered out the ringleader of the whole movement to instant execution. The sight of his exemplary punishment brought reason to the counsels of his former comrades, and within the appointed time the men gave in their loyal adhesion to their leader.

This was only one of the difficulties which Gordon had to encounter at this time. His colleague, General Ch'êng, had never forgiven the neglect of his advice which led to the capture of Kunshan, and, on the excuse of a mistake, but really by malice prepense, he directed on one occasion the fire of his guns against a regiment of the ever-victorious army. Money difficulties with Li further added to his anxieties. The system of looting which had been encouraged by Ward and Burgevine was repugnant to Gordon's ideas of soldiering, and he proposed to Li that after the capture of each town a gratuity should be distributed among the men in place of the spoils which used to be their portion. Li objected to this plan as being less economical than allowing the troops to gather their own rewards, and, though agreeing with the proposal so far as Kunshan was concerned, gave notice to Gordon that such irregular payments were "very inconvenient." These and other money difficulties so strained the relations between Gordon and Li that Gordon determined to resign his position, and he announced his intention in the following letter to the governor:

"YOUR EXCELLENCY: In consequence of the monthly difficulties I experience in getting the payment of the force made, and the non-payment of legitimate bills for boat hire and munitions of war from Her Britannic Majesty's Government, who have done so much for the Imperial Chinese authorities, I have determined on throwing up the command to this force, as my retention of office in these circumstances is derogatory to my position as a British officer, who cannot be a suppliant for what Your Excellency knows to be necessities, and which you should be only too happy to give."

Having written this dispatch, Gordon left Kunshan for Shanghai, and on arriving at that port was met with the news that Burgevine, who had been for some time at Shanghai, had joined the rebels, and had gone to Soochow to assist in the defense of that city. This deed of infamy completely changed, in Gordon's opinion, the aspect of affairs, for not only was Burgevine's help likely to strengthen the rebels' position at Soochow, but, as Gordon was well aware, a number of officers and men of the ever-victorious army had a strong affection for their late commander. "In these circumstances loyalty to the cause he had adopted made Gordon forget for the moment Li's parsimony and Ch'êng's treachery, and without the loss of an hour he turned his horse's head and rode back to Kunshan."

For some days Gordon remained at Kunshan, waiting to see what developments would arise from the presence of Burgevine in the rebel ranks. As nothing, however, occurred, he again took the field, and after some severe fighting captured an important outwork before Soochow. The turn which things had taken since Gordon had held command, and the capture of so many cities and fortified places had a depressing effect upon the T'aip'ings, and Gordon quickly learned that within the walls of Soochow there was a strongly supported movement in favor of making terms with the imperialists. Several of these faint-hearted leaders opened negotiations personally with Gordon, and at several of the meetings which took place Burgevine was present. Disappointed with the want of spirit which he found to exist in the rebel camp, this versatile traitor proposed to come over to the imperialists, on condition that he and his men should be declared free from any penalty for the part they had taken in supporting the rebel cause. While preparing for this tergiversation he had the folly to propose to Gordon, of all men in the world, that they should together raise a force and march on Peking, overthrow the dynasty, and on its ruins establish an empire for themselves. With difficulty Gordon refrained from expressing his contempt at such a filibustering proposition. Meanwhile negotiations went on, and matters were hastened by a violent incident which occurred within the city walls. The garrison was commanded by Mu Wang, one of the few honorable men in the rebel ranks, and one who had not joined the other chieftains in the negotiations with Gordon. He, however, was aware of what was going on and invited the commanders to dinner to discuss the situation. Considerable heat was shown in the course of the proceedings, and in the midst of a vehement dispute one of the commanders drew a dagger and stabbed Mu Wang to the heart. The conspirators then agreed to give up one of the gates to Gordon's force. Li, who was cognizant of the course of events, moved to the neighborhood of the city in order to grace with his presence the expected triumph. On the gate being surrendered, the commanders went out in a body to Li's quarters to complete their surrender. Exactly what happened on their entering the presence of the governor has never been clearly ascertained. Li subsequently accused them of having been violent in their behavior, and exorbitant in their demands; but, be that as it may, Li, in spite of his solemn promise that Gordon's agreement should be observed, and that the lives of the commanders should be spared, ordered them out to instant execution. The news of this inhuman treachery reached Gordon in Soochow, and he then for the first time during the campaign took a weapon in his hand. Arming himself with a rifle, he went in search of the treacherous Li, and would unquestionably have shot him, if the governor, having received timely warning of his danger, had not taken to flight. Outside Li's late headquarters Gordon found the mangled remains of the men to whom he had promised life, and the sight of their mutilated bodies added grief and anger to his mind. Only one course was, he felt, open to him in these circumstances, and he wrote to Li "an indignant letter, in which, while proclaiming the infamy of his conduct, he resigned the command of the force."

The capture of Soochow was a crushing blow to the T'aip'ings, and with a great flourish of trumpets Li announced the victory to his imperial master, who, taking up his vermilion pencil, indicted an edict in which he described how "the army, acting under orders from Li Hung Chang, captured in succession the lines of rebel works outside the four gates of the city, and so struck terror into the enemy that urgent offers of returning allegiance were made. . . . As a mark of his sincere approbation his Majesty is pleased to confer upon him [Li] the honorary title of 'Guardian of the Heir-Apparent,' and to present him with a yellow jacket [which was temporarily taken from him at the close of the Japanese war]. Gordon, especially appointed general in the army of Kiangsu, was in command of troops who assisted in these operations. His Majesty, in order to evince his approval of the profound skill and great zeal displayed by him, orders him to receive a military decoration of the first rank and a sum of 10,000 taels." In obedience to this edict, Li sent messengers bearing the 10,000 taels to the still indignant Gordon, and probably never in the history of the empire have imperial envoys *dona ferentes* met with such a reception as was accorded to these men. Gordon had been in the habit of leading his men into the thickest of the fight, carrying in his hand only a stick with which he directed their movements. On this occasion he seized the same weapon, and applying it vigorously to the backs of the astonished envoys, drove them from his

LI HUNG CHANG
(Born 1821. Died 1901)

presence, carrying with them the blood-stained money which had been sent for his acceptance.

For two months Gordon remained inactive, but at the end of that period, after much negotiation, he was induced once again to take the field. Soochow having fallen, Gordon's prime object was to join hands with Tsêng Kwofan, who was at this time closely besieging Nanking. With complete success he captured the two cities which stood between him and his objective, and was about to continue his march toward the "Southern Capital," when he received an urgent message from Li, begging him to join him before Changchow Fu. Li's appeal for help was the more pressing, as he had just lost the services of General Ch'êng, who, with all his faults and failings, and they were neither few nor inconsiderable, was one of the best generals of which the imperialists could boast. In an attack on Kashing Fu he had received a wound when leading his men, which rapidly proved fatal. Gordon consequently hastened to the succor of his colleague, and after some stiff fighting captured the city. With the fall of this stronghold the province of Kiangsu was restored in its entirety to the imperialists, and Hangchow having fallen to the prowess of Tso Chungt'ang, there remained to the rebels only the one city of Nanking. The defenses of this citadel were fast crumbling away. Tsêng Kwofan had completely surrounded it, and provisions and ammunition were falling short within the walls. By way of lightening the burden on the rebel commissariat the "Heavenly King" sent out the women and children to the imperialist lines. To the credit of Tsêng Kwofan it must be said that he treated these helpless refugees with all consideration. He provided for their wants, and sent them to a place of safety. This was the beginning of the end. A few days later a mine which had been laid by the besiegers was fired, and a wide breach was made in the city wall. Through this opening the imperialists rushed in, and the fate of the city was at once decided. The "Heavenly King" poisoned himself with gold-leaf, and the Faithful Prince, who had defended the place with the greatest courage, carried off the youthful heir to the T'aip'ing throne, in the vain hope that he might be able to establish an empire in some other part of the country. With characteristic unselfishness he placed the boy on his own horse, and mounted himself on a less well-favored animal. But the pursuit was too quick for them, and they were both captured. The boy was beheaded on the spot, and Chung

Wang was allowed a week's respite for the strange purpose of thus having time to write his own memoir. So soon as he had finished the last line of this curious production he was carried out to the execution ground. The pages which he composed when about to die have since been printed, and are full of interesting matter, though, as might be imagined, strict historical accuracy is not always to be found in them. It is impossible to deny to this man the credit of having fought bravely and well for the cause which he had adopted, and it is not too much to say that if all the other T'aip'ing leaders had been animated with the same spirit of devotion and energy as that by which he was actuated, the T'aip'ing cause might have had a very different issue.

The ever-victorious army having now served its end, Li Hung Chang, who had always been jealous of it, at once proposed its disbandment. Like all Chinamen, Li was a thorough opportunist. When difficulties presented themselves he did his best to grapple with them, but when once they disappeared he regarded it as quite unnecessary to prepare defenses against future evils, or to take to heart any lesson from defeat and failure. We have had abundant evidence of this spirit of late years. The wars of 1858 and 1860, the T'aip'ing Rebellion, the Russian scare, the French war, and the Japanese invasion, have all furnished examples of the inability of Chinamen to do more than struggle, and generally ineffectually, with immediate events. In this respect they are like children in whose eyes the present difficulty is the all-absorbing subject, and who do not understand the possibility that the crisis may occur again. One would have expected that after the experience of the T'aip'ing Rebellion and the very material aid given to the imperial cause by Gordon's force, Li would have attempted to raise a corps which should be drilled and armed on the same lines. But the instant that Nanking had fallen he was only too ready to pay off the ever-victorious army, and to rid himself of the hateful intermeddling of foreign officers in native concerns. Gordon had proposed that in order to maintain a disciplined force, a camp should be formed in the neighborhood of Shanghai, where a native army could be drilled by European officers on the English model. But Li would have none of it, and was quite prepared to allow his province to revert to its original condition of corruption and inefficiency until such time as some new emergency might arise to call for fresh exertions. But the most signal example of this *laissez-faire* policy has been displayed since the Japanese war. Such a crushing defeat by a neighboring, hitherto despised, state, would, one would have thought, have shamed the mandarins into taking measures to make another such disaster impossible. But the little that has been effected to strengthen their position has been mainly due to the pressure which has been brought to bear upon them by Russia and Germany. Another war would scarcely find them in much better prepared condition than that in which they were in 1894, and principally through the lack of military organization. In the matter of armament and training, however, it must be confessed that considerable progress was shown to have been reached in 1900, during the Boxer rebellion.

One curious factor is that the Chinese seemed to feel no real disgrace at their defeat by the Japanese. Their national pride covers them as with a garment, and they affect to regard the invasion of Korea and Manchuria as burglarious attempts on the part of Japanese pirates to rob them, by a raid, of their rightful possessions. They are content to declare that such conduct is contrary to the rules of propriety, and with this soothing consideration seem to dismiss the subject from their minds. Shortly before the fall of Nanking some gunboats, which in the hour of their emergency the government had ordered from England, arrived at Shanghai, commanded by Captain Sherard Osborn of the British navy. As their active services were no longer required, Li set to work to destroy their efficiency. His emissaries attempted to bribe the sailors to come over to the native gunboats by offers of large increases of pay, and he proposed such impossible conditions on Sherard Osborn in the case of his fleet being employed that that officer left the port and steamed to the Peiho to lay his case before the central government. But referring from Li Hung Chang to the eight ministers of the Tsungli Yamên was a useless expenditure of time and trouble. Prince Kung and his colleagues were in full sympathy with Li Hung Chang in this matter, and having no immediate use for the gunboats, they were only too glad to have the excuse of Captain Osborn's demands for declining altogether to receive them. In the same spirit Li Hung Chang, shortly before the outbreak of the Japanese war, got rid of Captain Lang, who had been for years in command of the northern fleet, and whose continued presence might have put a different complexion on the battle of the Yalu. This curious failure to understand the necessity of preparing for emergencies has brought disaster after disaster upon the country, and at the present moment there is no sign that the authorities are sufficiently alive to the obligations which rest on them if they would preserve the existence of the empire. Many regiments of their troops are still armed with bows and arrows; immense stores of ammunition are absolutely useless, and their weapons are frequently obsolete.

Chapter XI

THE NIENFEI AND MOHAMMEDAN REBELLIONS

1851-1870

SOONER than might have been expected Li Hung Chang was called upon to meet an emergency in which he had again to appeal to foreigners for help. The suppression of the T'aip'ing Rebellion had not altogether restored peace to the country. The storm was over, but the ground-swell still remained, and from the disturbing elements which had been evoked another movement, hostile to the imperial government, rose in arms. The rebels had been so long accustomed to live by plunder rather than by honest work that, when as T'aip'ings their occupation was gone, they combined together again to raise the standard of revolt in the provinces of Shantung and Honan. Under the title of Nienfei these restless marauders wandered over the country looting and murdering. With some success they captured open towns and villages, and so serious was at one time the aspect of affairs that Li, whose experiences at Kiangsu were considered to have peculiarly fitted him for the task, was appointed commissioner to suppress the rising.

On receiving his nomination Li at once enlisted the services of as many of his old European officers as still were to be found in Shanghai, and with these as the backbone of his force he took the field against the rebels. The province of Shantung, where the rebels were strongest, so far resembles in outline the province of Kiangsu that three sides of it, the north, east, and south, are washed by the ocean. It had been Li's aim in the previous campaign to drive the T'aip'ings into the promontory of Kiangsu, and now, imitating the same tactics, he attempted to urge the Nienfei against the seaboard in Shantung, and there to overwhelm them. He was so far successful that he succeeded in driving the enemy into the desired position. But he had forgotten that troops could be transported by sea as well as moved on land, and to his extreme mortification, after having built a wall across the neck of the promontory, he found that the rebels had taken ship, had outflanked his position, and were pursuing their predatory career in the districts in his rear. For this and other failures he was robbed of the yellow yacket, which he had won against the T'aip'ings, and was ordered back to his viceroyalty—having in the meantime become viceroy of the Liang Hu provinces. By the skillful use of his court influence, however, he retained his position, and by a fortunate series of victories, finally achieved the success which at first was denied him. At the conclusion of the campaign he was granted an imperial audience, when he had the gratification of once more finding the yellow jacket placed upon his shoulders.

It is well for the Manchu Dynasty of China that the rebellions which disturbed the peace of the empire during the last century were guided by men who proved themselves quite incapable of establishing a settled government in the districts over which they established their power. While the imperial forces were engaged in a death struggle with the T'aip'ings, another rebellion, which at one time seemed likely to assume very serious proportions, broke out in the province of Yunnan. That district has always contained a large Mohammedan population. Accounts differ as to whence these followers of the Prophet originally came. They themselves have a legend that during a rebellion in the eighth century, a mission was sent by the reigning emperor to Bagdad asking the caliph for succor against his revolting subjects. In answer to this appeal three thousand Turkish soldiers were lent to the hardly pressed " Son of Heaven." Having successfully accomplished their errand they were naturally inclined to return to their native lands, but were refused admission among their countrymen on the ground that they had been defiled by a residence among pork-eating infidels. They, therefore, made up their minds to settle in Yunnan, where some few remnants of these first immigrants remain at the present day. Color is given to this account by the fact that the people in their appearance resemble natives of Arabia more nearly than sons of Han. By the constant intermarriage with the Chinese their features have become to a great extent Sinicised, though they can be still readily distinguished by their superior stature, greater physical strength, and more energetic physiognomies. But whatever may be the semblance of truth in this story, it is a well-known fact that in the early part of the fourteenth century the province of Yunnan was largely populated by Mohammedans, and we know from the records that a century earlier the faith of Islam was carried into China by Mussulman emigrants from central Asia.

Up to the middle of the present century these strangers and pilgrims seem to have lived at peace with their Confucianist and Buddhist neighbors. At times no doubt they felt the heavy hand of oppression, at the instance of narrow-minded officials, and in 1851 so fierce a persecution arose that an urgent petition was presented to the throne, accusing the emperor's officials of gross oppression and wrong, and praying that a just and honest man might be sent to rule in Yunnan. This memorial was unproductive of any results, but for a time nothing occurred to disturb the peace of the province. In 1855, however, a riot broke out at one of the copper mines for which Yunnan is famous. Unfortunately the mandarin in command of the district combined cowardice with incompetency, and took to flight, leaving the rioters to fight out their difficulty. A general massacre is a very common Chinese remedy for suppressing a revolt, and the Yunnan officials deemed this a proper opportunity for applying the exterminating cure. The viceroy, to his credit be it said, raised a protest against so drastic a remedy, but finding himself unable to check his subordinates, committed suicide in order to emphasize his disapproval. Unfortunately this self-sacrifice was unavailing, and in spite of the viceroyal incident a day was fixed for the slaughter. Although rumors had been rife that this wholesale murder was to be committed, the Mohammedans were, strangely enough, taken by surprise, and many fell victims to the relentless swords of the mandarins. But a remnant was left, and these men, driven desperate by the conduct of their oppressors, banded themselves together, vowing to oppose to the death the imperial rule in Yunnan. Two leaders were at this time forced to the front by circumstances. One was a man named Ma, who exercised priestly functions, and who had accumulated religious sanctity by having made a pilgrimage to Mecca. After his visit to that sacred city he had traveled through Egypt and Turkey, and had returned to China with a high reputation for religious zeal and knowledge. The other chieftain was known as Tu. This man, who, as was afterward seen, proved to be the staunchest commander of the two, took early possession of the important city of Tali Fu, and there organized some sort of local government. In choosing this city as his headquarters he showed a keen eye for military defense. Dr. Anderson in his "Mandalay to Momein," thus described this stronghold: "Although Tali Fu is a small town the population of which did not at that time (1857) exceed thirty-five thousand, the rich plain walled in by mountains, and with a lake teeming with fish, stretching forty miles in length and ten in breadth, maintained a population estimated before the war at four hundred thousand; . . . the mountains to the north and south close in upon the lake, and the plain and city are accessible only by two strongly fortified passes. . . . Thus Tali has been from the earliest times a strong city; it was the capital of a kingdom at the invasion of Kublai Khan, and is still regarded by the Tibetans, who make pilgrimages to its vicinity, as the ancient home of their forefathers."

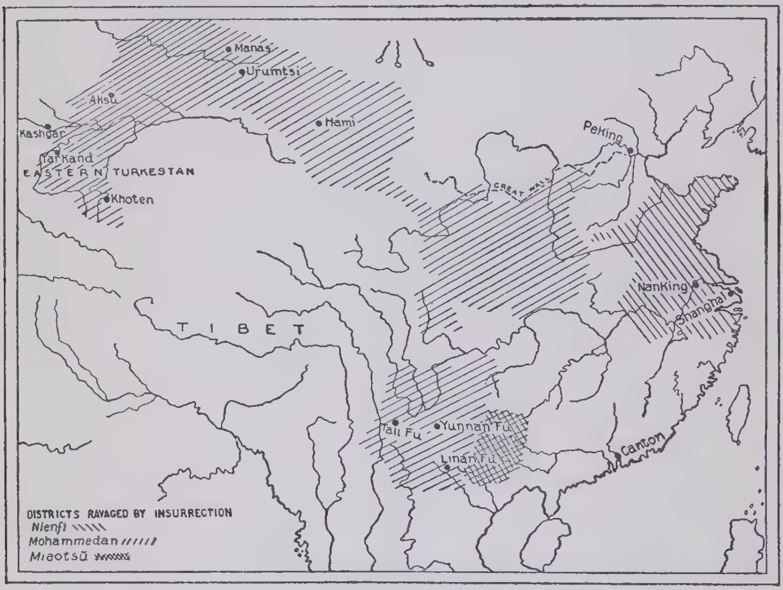
Secure in the possession of this stronghold Tu declared himself independent of Ma, who was thus left to command such forces in the field as he was able to collect. At the head of his somewhat ragged regiments he attacked the city of Yunnan Fu, and was repulsed without much difficulty. In 1859, however, he reappeared before its walls at the head of fifty thousand fighting-men. This attack was seriously meant, and the imperialist garrison was reduced to such a parlous state that they were on the point of surrendering, when, to their infinite surprise and relief, they received proposals from Ma of negotiations for peace, on the understanding that he and his men should be accepted as imperialist recruits. This opportunity of escape from a dire and impending disaster was too convenient to be allowed to lapse, and the terms were not only promptly arranged between the leaders on the spot, but met with full and instant approval at Peking. Ma himself was promised high office in the state, and his kinsman of the same surname, and who enjoyed the personal name of Julung, was made a general in the imperial army. When sides are so easily exchanged and prizes so easily won, the temptation to indulge in personal ambitions is more than most men, and especially Orientals, can resist, and on the occasion of Ma Julung taking the field against the rebel force, his lieutenant, whom he had left in command at Yunnan Fu, raised the standard of revolt, murdered the viceroy, and took possession of the town in the Mohammedan interest. This treacherous move was short-lived. Ma hastened back to the city, effected an entrance through the walls, and after five days' hard fighting restored all that was left of it to the imperial sway. During this time Tu was consolidating his power at Tali Fu, and being a man of determination and vigor, whose authority it was essential to check, it was deemed best and safest by the imperialists to attempt to subdue him by offers of preferment, rather than by attacks on his fortress. The priestly Ma, being of a diplomatic turn, was deputed to open relations with him, and by displaying the honors which had rewarded his own treachery to persuade him to follow his example. But the chieftain was made of sterner stuff than his interviewer, and treated with disdain his dastardly proposals.

When so vast a province as Yunnan, covering as it does an area of 107,969 square miles, is in the throes of rebellion, it is impossible to suppose that the spirit of unrest should not spread to the neighboring districts. In the adjoining province of Kweichow existed, and still exists, a large population of Miaotzŭ, who have an origin distinct from the Chinese, being the survivors of one of the original races which occupied the empire before the advent of the Chinese. As the primitive invaders advanced into the country the Miaotzŭ, like the other aboriginal tribes, retreated to the mountain fastnesses in Kweichow, Kwangsi, and on the Tibetan frontier. In these places they have persistently held themselves aloof from their more powerful neighbors, and, though ordinarily peaceful, have on repeated occasions been goaded by oppression into taking up arms against their tyrants. For some unexplained reason these tribes broke out into revolt in 1863, and thus placed the imperial forces in Yunnan between two fires. Another aspirant to leadership, named Liang, at the same time raised the standard of disaffection at a town called Linan Fu. This further added to the difficulties of the imperialists, which were already sufficiently embarrassing. For some three or four years the condition of affairs remained practically unchanged. There was fighting here and there, but no distinct advantage was gained by either side. Later on, in 1867, an attack, made by Ma on the defenders of Tali Fu, proved unsuccessful, and he in no way succeeded in preventing Tu from keeping open his communications with Burma, from which convenient territory he was able to procure an unfailing supply of arms and ammunition for the support of his cause. But after all he was constrained to feel that, though holding his own, he was not making headway, and he could not but recognize that support from the outside was necessary to enable him to continue to maintain a successful struggle. He had entertained in his dominions, and had been civilly treated by, the members of an English mission sent from Burma to report upon the trading facilities which might be hoped for from Yunnan. His thoughts, therefore, naturally turned toward England, and he dispatched a nephew to London with directions to open relations with the English Government, in the hope that they might be induced to lend their countenance to his cause. It is needless to say that these overtures were declined. But this was not all. They indirectly had a most disastrous effect on the fortunes of the rebels, for the Chinese Government, alarmed at the mere possibility of foreign interference, determined to crush once and for all the Mohammedan movement. Meanwhile Tu had attempted to turn the scales on his enemies, and had besieged Yunnan Fu. The venture, however, proved unsuccessful, and he had again to betake himself for shelter to the stout walls of Tali Fu. While the imperial authorities were, in that leisurely way which belongs to them, gathering themselves up for the fatal spring upon the Mohammedans, matters dragged on and were diversified only by petty engagements, and by the treacherous murder of some rebel chiefs who had surrendered themselves on the usual understanding that their lives would be spared. Like most acts of treacherous cruelty, this one was both unwise and uncalled for. It embittered the feeling on the part of the Mohammedans against the imperialists, and disinclined men who were disposed to go over to the emperor's generals to trust themselves to their tender mercies.

A large importation of Hunan soldiers, commanded by one of Tsêng Kwofan's lieutenants, added greatly to the imperial strength at this time, and a forced contribution of 70,000 taels per month, which was contributed by six of the other provinces, placed the provincial exchequer in a comparatively flourishing condition. With these auxiliary forces the emperor's cause began to make way, and gradually the whole province was recovered with the exception of the one city, Tali Fu. With an irresistible weight of numbers the imperialists closely besieged this doomed stronghold, and it soon became evident that it was destined to fall into their hands. In so exhausted and starving a condition did the garrison become at last that Tu opened negotiations for the surrender of the town. One wonders at the folly of men who could trust their lives in the hands of opponents who had in almost every case falsified their treaty oaths, and had slaughtered without mercy those to whom they had promised life. But so it was. Tu surrendered himself knowingly to death, the imperialists having refused to spare his life. But the other chieftains encouraged themselves to believe that in their cases the compact would be kept. On the day appointed for the delivery of the city, Tu was carried through the streets and out to the imperial camp in a sedan-chair, accompanied with every insignia of empire. With impatient desire General Ma received this equipage, which, when opened, however, revealed, to his disappointment, that he was possessed with but the corpse of the dreaded chief. Another version of the surrender states that Tu, on presenting himself before the commander-in-chief, asked for a cup of cold water. This was given him, and he fell dead from the effects of a poison which the water had suddenly brought into action. Though robbed of his living victim, Ma decapitated the corpse, and sent the head, preserved in honey, to grace the palace of his imperial master. The usual events followed on the surrender of the city. The Mohammedan leaders were invited to a grand feast, and while yet they sat at meat, a body of soldiers, who had been concealed in the room, rushed out on them and cut them down to the last man. This villainy having been effected, a further outrage was committed. At a given signal the soldiers were let loose on the inhabitants of the city. The scenes that were there witnessed are not to be surpassed in horror. The troops slaughtered their helpless victims until fatigue made it impossible for them to deal out further murders, and no fewer than thirty thousand men, women, and children perished in the massacre.

For seventeen years the province had been desolated by the relentless wars of which it had been the scene, while to add to the horrors of the situation the plague had swept over whole districts, and carried havoc into the ranks of the rebels and their opponents alike. Up to this day Yunnan has not recovered from these fearful visitations. Whole neighborhoods are still untenanted and the lands uncultivated. Though rich in minerals, the soil is not on the whole productive, and as the mandarins hold with a jealous care a monopoly over the mines, there is little to attract immigrants into the province. That as a mining district it has great possibilities there can be no doubt, and with the prospect of railway communication with Burma, it may be that a great future lies before the present unhappy district.

It is a curious coincidence that while there was no kind of connection or intercommunication between the Mohammedans of Yunnan and their coreligionists in northwestern China, a wave of rebellion should have swept over the provinces of Shensi and Kansu at the same time that Ma and Tu were raising the standard of revolt in the southwest. At this time, 1857, the T'aip'ing Rebellion was so fully occupying the attention of the Chinese Government that they were unable to do more than hold in check the revolted followers of the Prophet, and it was not until five years afterward that an act of treachery on the part of the Chinese fanned the smouldering ashes of discontent into a flame. The position now required more stringent measures than had hitherto been taken, and



two Chinese commissioners were dispatched to restore order in the disturbed districts. In an ill-fated moment a plot was laid for the murder of these men, and while one escaped, the other suffered death at the hands of the assassins. The murderer, when taken, was done to death with the utmost refinement of cruelty, and a decree was issued by the young emperor, T'ungchih, ordering a general massacre of all those who should persist in following the creed of Islam. With considerable and unwonted success the emperor's forces suppressed the rebellion within the frontier of China proper. But beyond the Great Wall stretches a dreary waste as far as Aksu, which is dotted at distant and lonely intervals by cities, held in the name of the " Son of Heaven." These garrisons were mostly Mohammedan, and, infected with the desire of throwing off the Chinese yoke, they broke out into a simultaneous revolt. In these wild districts there are always elements of disorder lying dormant, but ready to rise into action at a moment's notice, and on all sides the pretenders to lost thrones and aspirants to chieftainships took up arms against the paramount power in the hope that in the prevailing disorder they might be able to satisfy their ambitions. By the surviving loyal garrisons T'ungchih's truculent order was, however, faithfully obeyed, though in one instance at least the tables were turned on the would-be murderers. It had been arranged by the Chinese garrisons in Yarkand that they should at a given hour put all their Mohammedan fellow-soldiers to the sword, and this would doubtless have been done, had not the followers of the Prophet taken time by the forelock and risen against the too dilatory Chinese. At Khokand the last surviving son of Jehangir, who had been Taokwang's restless opponent, attempted to wrest from the Chinese the city which he pretended to regard as his own. Had this man been left to fight his own battles his career would probably have been a still shorter one than it was. But with the assistance of Yakoob Khan, an able and energetic officer, he succeeded in establishing himself as ruler in Khokand. He had no sooner, however, reached the pinnacle of his ambition than he was deposed by Yakoob, who, having won the laurels of victory, thought himself entitled to wear the crown of empire. In the East such acts of treachery receive no condemnation so long as they are successful, and Yakoob's sovereignty received the seal of general recognition by a solemn act in which the title of Athalik Ghazi, " The Champion Father," was conferred on him at the hands of the Amir of Bokhara. Unfortunately for the Chinese, the movement which had swept over the wide regions south of the T'ienshan Mountains spread into the province of Ili, where occurred a repetition of all those unspeakable horrors which usually accompany Asiatic outbreaks. In this case, however, the rebels and their opponents came into contact with a power which has not on all occasions shown itself friendly to the cause of the " Son of Heaven." For some time Russia endured in silence the local disturbances which broke out across her frontier and ignored the raids which were not unfrequently made into her territory by flying rebels or retreating imperialists. At length the disorders reached a point, or the Russians were satisfied to think that they had done so, when they could no longer be endured, and the Muscovite authorities gave formal notice to the Chinese Government that they were about at once to march in and take possession of the province until such time as the Chinese Government was able effectively to reoccupy the territory. Meanwhile, the Chinese Government was moving up troops preparatory to a regular campaign against the rebels farther south. Tso Chungt'ang, who had served against the T'aip'ings with distinction and honor, was made viceroy of Shensi and Kansu, with complete control over the military movements. Fortunately Tso was a man of proved ability and of great steadfastness of purpose. The task before him was one of supreme importance, and practically meant the recovery to the Chinese Crown of the whole of central Asia, as well as the pacification of the two provinces over which he was directly called upon to preside. With indefatigable energy he set about the gigantic undertaking, and was fortunate in the choice of his subordinate, General Kinshun, who throughout the campaign showed marked military ability. By the end of 1872 Tso had closely besieged the important city of Suchow, which ultimately surrendered to his arms. Having achieved this success it was arranged that he should remain at the base to organize the expeditionary forces, while Kinshun should march across the dreary desert of Gobi, which lies between the frontier of China proper and Barkul. Without meeting with any serious resistance he captured that town, and then, returning to Hami, succeeded in adding the capture of that stronghold to his triumphs. With the force at his command, however, he felt unable to advance farther into the rebel country, and in conjunction with Tso desired the establishment of communications over the three or four hundred miles which separate Hami from Suchow. Then followed one of those episodes which only the Orient can produce and which was particularly typical of China. Chinese methods occasionally grind surely, but they always grind slowly, and with the most leisurely indifference the two chiefs arranged that on the several oases in the desert crops should be grown for the supply of the expedition which was to be dispatched into central Asia. For the time being the soldiers were turned into farm laborers. They sowed their seed, they watered their fields, and when the autumn sun had ripened their crops they reaped their harvests. By this time, 1876, Tso's legions were ready to advance.

After a successful march Kinshun's troops appeared before Urumtsi, which, to their surprise and relief, surrendered without striking a blow. Manas was the next objective of the imperial forces. Here the defense was ably conducted, and it was only by closely besieging the walls that at length the garrison was starved into the act of surrender. Experience had probably taught the rebels that a vanquished foe had no mercy to expect from Chinese soldiers, and when, therefore, the time came to surrender the city, the garrison marched out in fighting order, and with their women and children enclosed within solid phalanxes of men. Their object in adopting this order was obvious, and was put beyond doubt by a desperate charge which they made to force their way through the Chinese lines. In this they were unsuccessful, and while the lives of the women and children were spared by the special orders of Kinshun, no restraining hand was put on the soldiers to prevent the slaughter of the garrison. From this point onward the Chinese triumphed all along the line, and though Yakoob Khan intervened on behalf of the rebels, he failed utterly to turn back the tide of war. After several defeats this celebrated leader returned to Korla, where he died from disease, or, as was broadly stated at the time, by a dose of poison. Aksu, Yarkand, Kashgar, and Khoten fell before the victorious Chinese generals, who thus, in the year 1878, were able to report to the throne that the emperor was again master of his own. Honors were showered on the successful commanders, and Tso was admitted to the Grand Secretariat, was made a member of the Tsungli Yamên, and was promoted to be viceroy of the two Kiang provinces.

It is necessary now to revert to the period at the close of the war of 1860. In order to make the sequence of events intelligible it was considered advisable to trace the history of the T'aip'ing movement and the rebellions which may be said directly or indirectly to have sprung from it. The system of administration in China is a very disjointed one, and events of high moment and concern may, and often do, occur in one part of that unwieldy empire, and yet leave no trace on the rest of the country. The rebellions which have been dealt with in this chapter may be considered in this sense to be little more than local outbreaks, and can scarcely be said to have affected the affairs at Peking. So soon as the Allies left for the south in 1860 the Grand Council of State took into consideration the question of the future management of foreign affairs. Up to this time the government, with that contemptuous disregard of everything relating to the Outer Barbarians which belongs to them, had relegated the management of foreign affairs to the Lifan Yuan, or "Colonial Office." That is to say, European affairs were classed with the trivial concerns of Mongolian and Central Asian nomads. The continuation of this system was plainly impossible now that relations with foreign governments had become closer, and it was determined therefore to establish a bureau, called the Tsungli Yamên, or "Yamên of General Superintendence," which should serve the purposes of a foreign office.

Prince Kung was nominated the first president, with Wênhsiang and Kweiliang as his colleagues. As the business increased additions were made to this board, and at the present time it numbers eleven magnates, who daily discuss foreign affairs, and do very little else. Sir Harry Parkes likened a visit to the Tsungli Yamên to lowering buckets into a bottomless well. The first few years of T'ungchih's reign passed quietly enough, and the government discussed with the foreign ministers, who were now established in legations at Peking, the means by which they might so strengthen the empire as to make it a really independent state. Much good advice was lavished on these occasions, and some faint efforts were made to carry out the recommendations given. The main desire of the regency was to strengthen the army, and with this object drill books were translated from English into Chinese, and arsenals were established at Foochow, Nanking, and Shanghai. At the first-named port a French naval officer, Giguel, was appointed superintendent, and at Nanking Dr. Macartney, now Sir Haliday, presided over the management. These three establishments did good work within certain limits. But the Chinese military service suffers under the extreme disability of being a despised profession, and so long as this is the case arsenals may continue to turn out guns, and dockyards may produce ships, but the officers will be always inefficient and the men untrustworthy. But the Chinese have from all time depended more on negotiation and diplomacy to keep their enemies from the gate, than on weapons of defense. Already they had repented themselves that they had granted many of the concessions which were embodied in the treaties and they at once began to whittle down the more generous clauses of those agreements. The admission of foreign ministers into

Peking was regarded as such an enormous privilege, and the Chinese took every means in their power to magnify the boon. The first representatives of the European courts in the capital were overawed by the position which they were called upon to occupy, and in response to civil words and pleasant phrases from members of the Tsungli Yamên, sometimes showed a disposition to yield the rights acquired by their countrymen. The United States ambassador at this time was Anson Burlingame. In 1867, when he announced his intention of returning home, Prince Kung offered to appoint him special ambassador to his country and the great European powers, for the purpose of framing treaties of amity with those nations. He was a man of considerable eloquence and enthusiastic temperament. Burlingame gained some share of success for the objects of his mission, which mainly consisted of the plea that China should be allowed to manage her own affairs. He was well received and negotiated treaties with the United States, England, Denmark, Sweden, and Holland, and had entered upon negotiations at St. Petersburg, when in 1870 he died.

Meanwhile at Yangchow, northeast of Nanking, in the province of Kiangsu, serious trouble was brewing. Hudson Taylor, the leading spirit in the China Inland Mission, had taken advantage of the clause in the treaty which provided that " since the Christian religion, as professed by Protestants and Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by, persons teaching it or professing it shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities, nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the law, be persecuted or interfered with," and had established himself at Yangchow. It was never denied that he and his people had lived quietly with the people, and the only charges which were brought against him were the usual groundless accusations that he and his followers were in the habit of killing children and of using their eyes and hearts for medicinal purposes. Ridiculous as these charges were, they found ready acceptance with the mob, who, far from being held in check by the mandarins, were openly encouraged by them in their demonstrations against the foreigners. A Chinese mob is easily aroused, and when once aroused is capable of great fury. In this case they assaulted the missionaries, burned down their houses, and drove them from the city. An immediate demand for reparation was made by Medhurst, the British consul at

Shanghai, who required that the local mandarins should be degraded; that certain *Literati,* who had instituted the riots, should be punished; that two thousand taels should be paid as compensation for the wounded and ejected missionaries; that these ministers of the gospel should be officially received back; and that a tablet should be erected on which should be inscribed the history of the riot, with a declaration that foreigners have a treaty right to visit the interior of the empire. At this time Tsêng Kwofan, who it will be remembered won his laurels in engagements against the T'aip'ings, was viceroy of the two Kiang provinces, and as soon as these terms were referred to him he vetoed the demands for the punishment of the *Literati* and for the erection of the tablet. But the consul and the British minister at Peking, Sir Rutherford Alcock, had been trained in the pre-legation-at-Peking system of dealing with the local authorities, and with the full permission of his chief, the consul, quite in the old and most efficacious manner, steamed up the Yangtsze with a small naval squadron, and anchored his ships opposite the walls of Nanking. The effect was instantaneous, as similar demonstrations have always proved with the Chinese, and every condition was promptly complied with, the only modification being that the tablet which Medhurst had declared should be of stone was, in consideration for Tsêng Kwofan's feelings, set up in wood. At the same time a proclamation was issued in which the local authorities were held up to reprobation, the condign punishment of the ringleaders was announced, and the viceroyal consent was given to the other terms of reparation proposed. The effect of this judicious treatment of the emergency has since shown itself to be lasting and salutary, and Yangchow, from having been one of the most anti-foreign centers in the empire, has become eminently peaceable and law-abiding.

It is noticeable that the anti-foreign outbursts which have so frequently occurred have been generally, though not always, accompanied by similar riots in other parts of the country. Just about this time anti-missionary rebellions took place in Formosa, at Swatow, Foochow, and in the province of Szech'uan, where Père Rigaud was unfortunately murdered. The French minister, Rochechouart, went personally to the scene of the last outbreak, and was able to arrange terms satisfactory to the government which he represented. These matters were scarcely settled when, in June, 1870, an outbreak of more than usual violence occurred in Tientsin.

Chapter XII

THE LAST YEARS OF T'UNGCHIH AND THE ACCESSION OF KWANGHSÜ. 1870-1895

FOR some time ill-will had been manifested toward the Roman Catholic establishments at Tientsin, and more especially against the orphanage which had been established by Sisters of Mercy; and at the end of May an epidemic, which occurred in that institution, and which proved especially fatal, aroused the popular feeling to frenzy. There has always been a superstitious belief among Chinamen that Europeans are in the habit of using the eyes and hearts of deceased infants for medicinal purposes, and the numerous deaths which occurred at this time led the ignorant townspeople to give credence to the folly. So threatening did the mob become that the Sisters thought it wise to offer to allow a committee of five from among the rioters to examine the premises. How far this concession may have met the necessities of the case it is difficult to say. But the French consul, deeming it an unworthy surrender to menace, repaired to the orphanage and drove the committee of five into the street. Against this summary proceeding the Chinese district magistrate strongly protested, and expressed fear that unless some arrangement were made with the people the consequences might be serious. This threat was speedily fulfilled, and on June 21 a surging crowd assembled around the orphanage. The French consul, recognizing the stormy outlook, hurried off to Chung How, the Superintendent of Foreign Trade, who was the senior native authority on the spot, and urged him to take steps to quell the mob. It is said that the consul was in a "state of excitement bordering on insanity." But however that may be, Chung How was either unwilling or unable to act as demanded, and the consul made his way out into the mob, pistol in hand. Accounts vary as to what subsequently happened. Whether he fired into the crowd is not definitely known, but he was speedily knocked down and beaten to death.

The mob, having once tasted blood, rushed to the orphanage, where they murdered the unfortunate Sisters, after inflicting on them all kinds of nameless barbarities. They then set fire to the buildings, having, however, had the humanity to allow the children to escape. In their mad fury they murdered a Russian and his young bride, whom they took to be French, and who were trying to make their escape to the foreign settlement. In all, twenty foreigners were killed, and as many more Chinese attendants. This fiendish massacre was doubtless due partly to ignorance, but principally to the appearance at this time of a work entitled "Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines," which describes the worship of the Christians in terms nearly identical with those used by Gibbon in his history of the early persecutions at Rome. In the passage referred to Gibbon states that the Christians "were regarded as the most wicked of human kind, who practiced in their dark recesses every abomination that a depraved fancy could suggest, and who solicited the favor of their unknown God by the sacrifice of every moral virtue. There were many who pretended to confess or to relate the ceremonies of the abhorred society." Vigorous protests were made to the Chinese Government against the continued distribution of this work on account of its infamous assertions, and at the same time the foreign ministers presented a united demand for the punishment of the ringleaders of the riot, both official and non-official, and for compensation for the murders committed.

At this time Tsêng Kwofan, who had been promoted from the viceroyalty of the two Kiang, to the same position in the metropolitan province, was residing at Paoting Fu, the provincial capital. By imperial decree he was appointed, together with Chung How, to inquire into the circumstances of the massacre. But Tsêng was getting old, and the strong prejudice which he had always exhibited against foreigners disinclined him to take any active steps to punish the perpetrators of the atrocities. Sir Thomas Wade, who at this time represented England at Peking, was not a man, however, tamely to submit to being put off by unsympathetic officials, and on Tsêng showing signs of dilatoriness, he addressed a remonstrance direct to Prince Kung in these terms: "As to the atrocities committed, although there is no doubt about the popular exasperation, there is the strongest reason to doubt that the destruction of the religious establishments, and the murder of their occupants, were exclusively the work of the ignorant multitude. The chief actors in the affair are stated to have been the fire brigades, and the banded villains known as the Hunsing Tzŭ. These were ready for the attack, and as soon as the gong sounded, fell in, provided with deadly weapons. They were reinforced by soldiers and Yamên followers, and conspicuously directed by a man with the title of Titu (major-general), the ex-rebel Chên Kwojui. . . . Yet after more than seventy days' delay what has been done toward the satisfaction of justice? Some few of the lower class of criminals have been arrested, the more important of these not having been discoverable until their names and their whereabouts were supplied by the French legation. The guilty magistrates were left for twenty days after the massacre at their posts, their energies being devoted throughout that period, not to the detection of persons guilty of a share in the crime, but to the examination under torture of unfortunate Christians, from whom it was hoped that confessions might be extorted in such a form as to tell favorably for their persecutors. . . . The common people, seeing no punishment inflicted on anyone, persuaded themselves that the massacre was a meritorious act. Songs are sung in honor of it, and paintings of it are circulated representing officials as approving spectators of the crime. . . . I must add, in conclusion, what it will give your Imperial Highness little pleasure to read, as little certainly as to myself to write; but the occasion requires that I should speak out. It is very generally believed that, although your Imperial Highness and the wiser of your colleagues are opposed to any policy that would involve a rupture with foreign powers, there are other leading men in China whose dream is the expulsion of the Barbarian, and who, if they were not the immediate instigators of the movement of June 21, have heartily approved its atrocities; have exerted themselves to prevent the punishment of the guilty parties, official and non-official; and are even now urging on the central government the expediency of directing a like murderous enterprise against all foreigners that may be found on Chinese ground."

This, and other remonstrances from the other foreign ministers at Peking, at length compelled the government to take action, but at the same time it was generally acknowledged that the continuance of Tsêng Kwofan in his existing post stood as a bar to the satisfaction of the foreign demands. It so happened that at this juncture the viceroy of the two Kiang provinces was murdered by a fanatic in the streets of Nanking, and the opportunity was seized upon, therefore, of transferring Tsêng to this thus vacated office, and of bringing Li Hung Chang from Hukwang to the metropolitan province. "We command Li Hung Chang," so ran the imperial edict, "who has been translated to the viceroyalty of Chihli, to proceed post to Tientsin, there, in concert with Tsêng Kwofan, Ting Jihch'ang, and Chêng Lin, to conduct the inquiry still open, and take the necessary action. . . . Respect this." Though thus commanded to act in concert with his colleagues, a free hand was practically given to Li, who at once, taking a firm grip of the situation, gave the people of Tientsin plainly to understand that any recrudescence of the anti-foreign agitation would be sternly repressed. Under this new régime the investigations proceeded apace, with the result that the prefect and district magistrate were sentenced to banishment to Manchuria; that twenty of the rioters were condemned to death; and that twenty-one were consigned to banishment. It is always difficult to estimate the real value of such a sentence as that passed on the culpable officials. It not unfrequently happens that in response to foreign pressure a mandarin is removed from a post, and ostensibly degraded, while in fact he may only be moved to an office of greater honor and emolument, and a certain amount of doubt must always rest on the just identification of rioters, who are offered up on the execution ground to propitiate outraged foreign feeling. Cases have happened of prisoners, who have been condemned for other crimes, being executed to satisfy the numerical balance of victims to be punished for murders committed. In this instance, however, no doubt seems to have arisen about the guilt of sixteen of the malefactors, and these were therefore executed on October 18, 1870. The circumstances, however, which attended their decapitation were such as to show that they were rather regarded as martyrs in a holy cause than as criminals guilty of heinous crimes. In a report to Sir Thomas Wade the British consul thus described the scene: "About two hundred police and soldiers escorted them [the criminals] from the jail to the magistrate's courtroom, where they were marshaled, sixteen in all. None of them would kneel to be bound when ordered to do so. They were all dressed in what is everywhere stated to be a government present, *viz.,* new silk clothes, and wore on their feet shoes of elegant manufacture. Their hair was dressed after the female fashion, in various modes; and ornaments such as those seen on the heads of Chinese ladies were stuck in their head-dresses." The Russian ambassador not being satisfied that the four men charged with the murder of his compatriots were really guilty of the crime laid to their charge, secured them a reprieve, which resulted in two being sent into banishment, and the remaining two following their associates to the execution ground. Subsequent inquiry proved that the sentence on the prefect and magistrate was of the illusory nature common to such cases. Instead of going on a weary journey to Manchuria they were allowed to return to the bosom of their families, where no doubt they received the ovations which are commonly lavished on patriots.

The Titu, Chên Kwojui, of whom Sir Thomas Wade spoke, was a veritable stormy petrel. His career had been checkered by many vicissitudes. He had begun life as a T'aip'ing rebel, and had deserted the banners which had sheltered him for the imperial ranks in return for promotion and increased pay. His hatred of foreigners amounted almost to a mania, and his presence in the same town with Europeans was invariably the precursor of riots and disturbances. It is said that an accident led him to visit Tientsin at the moment of the outbreak and certain it is that he led on the mob to the attack. Being a *persona grata* with the powers at Peking, he was carefully shielded from all harm, and the utmost step that Sir Thomas Wade could persuade the Tsungli Yamên to take, was to send him back to Nanking and there to place him under surveillance. They agreed, however, to pay the sum of 400,000 taels to France as compensation for the murder of the Sisters of Mercy, and consented to dispatch Chung How on a special embassy to Paris to express the regret of the government for the murderous outbreak. It will be remembered that Chung How was the presiding mandarin at the time of the massacre, and it was therefore peculiarly fitting and proper that his should be the lips to utter the apologies and regrets.

The excitement which had been stirred up in connection with the missionary question by these events was by no means confined to Tientsin and the neighborhood, but was widely spread over many parts of the country. Distinct evidence had been furnished that this unrest was fomented, as Sir Thomas Wade had pointed out, by some of the highest officers of state, and the occasion was characteristically seized upon by the Tsungli Yamên to attempt to minimize the treaty rights as regarded the teaching of Christianity. With this view the Yamên drew up eight articles for the regulation of missionary undertakings, and inclosed them in a letter addressed to the various foreign legations, which in each case ran as follows:

> "Sir: In relation to the missionary question, the members of the Foreign Office are apprehensive lest in their efforts to manage the various points connected with it, they should interrupt the good relations existing between this and other governments, and have therefore drawn up several rules upon the subject. These are now inclosed, with an explanatory minute, for your examination, and we hope that you will take them into careful consideration."

Sufficient comprehensiveness cannot be denied to these eight articles, which, briefly stated, were "that foreign orphanages should be abolished; that women should not be allowed to enter the churches, nor Sisters of Charity to live in China; that missionaries must conform to the laws and customs of China, and must submit themselves to the authority of the Chinese magistrates; that since the individuals who commit disorders ordinarily belong to the lowest class of the people, accusations, in case of riots, must not be brought against the *Literati;* and that before a man be permitted to become a Christian, he must be examined as to whether he had undergone any sentence or committed any crime." These articles were so palpably contrary to the spirit of the treaty, that the ministers one and all declined to entertain the consideration of them for a moment, and matters were allowed to revert to the *status quo ante.* The Chinese have always shown themselves singularly tolerant of faiths other than their own, more especially when the new religions are professed only by strangers and are not of a proselytizing nature. They have allowed Mohammedans to live in their midst and to hold offices of all ranks, without imposing on them the slightest disability, and it is only when native converts decline to fall in to the popular customs, and to take part in the national festivals which mark the seasons of the year, that they come into collision with their fellow countrymen. In China, as in other polytheistic countries, innumerable deities are closely interwoven with all business and pleasure, and with every act of public and private life. To renounce these gods and goddesses is therefore to interfere with every custom and practice of society. It is held impossible for Christians to take part or lot in any matters polluted by the stain of idolatry, and with holy horror they decline to subscribe to the celebration of the high days and festivals which are kept at the solstices, the opening of spring, and other public holidays in the year. All this places them in antagonism with their fellow citizens. But the mandarins have a still more definite cause of complaint when native Christians, who are accused of crimes, enlist the advocacy of the missionaries in the native courts. The existence in their midst of congregations which observe rights and ceremonies apart from those practiced by the people at large, gives rise to much ill-feeling, and one can only admire the courage and self-sacrifice of those men and women who, knowing the dangers to which they are exposed, devote their lives to the dissemination of the doctrines of Christ in the midst of a hostile population. From the nature of the case it is inevitable that offenses will come, and so long as Christianity is represented by a small struggling minority, we must expect persecutions and troubles to arise.

While all these matters were disturbing the councils of the government, the emperor was growing in years, and in 1872 he had reached the time of life (sixteen) when, according to Chinese ideas, he should take to himself an empress. The event was one of momentous national importance, and vast preparations were made to secure the selection of a fitting consort for so lofty a monarch. By the dynastic rules it is laid down that the empress shall always be a Manchu by race and the daughter of a member of one of the eight military banners. Apart from these conditions there is nothing to prevent the daughter of a Manchu private from being raised to the "Dragon Throne." Custom forbids that an imperial bridegroom, any more than bridegrooms of lower degree, should even see his bride before the wedding night, and it was plainly impossible, therefore, that His Majesty T'ungchih should take any personal part in the selection. This duty devolved by necessity on the dowager empresses, and in their zeal for the emperor's happiness they threw a wide net over all the eligible young ladies in the country. The position of the empress has so many disabilities that it is not sought after with the eagerness that might be expected, and it is said that a number of young ladies affect a limp, or a hunch back, or some other deformity, in order to escape the imperial honor. In this case, however, between six and seven hundred Manchu maidens were brought to the palace for the empresses' inspection. By a process of elimination these great ladies, in some weeks, reduced the number to two, and finally their choice fell on a young lady named Ahluta. The father of this damsel was a man of distinction, having taken the highest literary honors obtainable at the competitive examinations, and had imparted, so it was said, some of his learning to the future empress.

As soon as the choice was made preparations were begun for the ceremony, and as a preliminary step the Astronomical Board was called upon to determine by the stars the day and hour which would present the most felicitous moment for the august union. Meanwhile, in preparation for the duties of his new state, four young ladies, known as professors of matrimony, were introduced into the emperor's palace, who, as was generally reported, satisfactorily performed their vicarious *rôles* until the arrival of Ahluta. The midnight of October 16, 1872, was the time chosen for the ceremony, and for days beforehand countless processions passed from the bride's home to the palace bearing her *trousseau* and belongings. The road leading to the palace was made smooth, and, to mark the occasion, was thickly covered with sand of the imperial yellow color. On the day preceding the wedding high officials bore in solemn state a tablet of gold constituting Ahulta empress, together with a scepter and a seal, which they presented to the lady; and at the hour appointed the bridal procession left for the palace attended by a large sprinkling of state officials with escorts and aides-de-camp. As it was essential that Ahulta should reach the palace at the exact moment prescribed by the Astronomical Board, a member of that learned body walked by the side of the bridal chair with a burning joss-stick in his hand, which was so arranged as to mark the progress of time. The result was satisfactory, and the emperor had the pleasure of receiving his consort neither before nor after the felicitous instant which had been proclaimed. Following this great lady came four other young maidens who were destined to play the part in the imperial harem of secondary wives of the first rank. By the laws of the empire the emperor is entitled to fill his cup of felicity with four ladies of the first grade, twenty-seven of the second, and eighty-one of the third. T'ung-chih, however, contented himself with the first arrivals, and probably it was well for him that he did so.

The marriage of an emperor of China is always held to announce his arrival at years of discretion, and is therefore equivalent to coming of age among ourselves. With the advent of an empress to share his throne the regency disappears, and the emperor is acknowledged to be, theoretically, a fit and proper person to govern his immense empire, and to exercise rule over his four hundred and thirty-two million subjects. Among the duties which T'ungchih's new position imposed upon him was that of holding communication with the ministers of the treaty powers. This obligation his father had accepted by the terms of the treaty of 1858, but by his judiciously timed retreat to Jehol he had successfully avoided carrying it out. The long minority of T'ungchih had further placed in abeyance the question of imperial audiences—a delay for which the Tsungli Yamên was profoundly grateful. The question had always been a thorny one. The idea of any representative of a foreign state entering the imperial presence without striking his forehead on the floor was so preposterous in the eyes of the mandarins that they resisted the introduction of all discussion on the subject so long as they were able. But the time had now come when it had again to be faced. They were perfectly aware that the k'ot'ow would have to be given up. But though thus driven from their first entrenchment they were prepared strenuously to defend every succeeding line. Lord Macartney had bent the knee on entering the presence of Ch'ienlung. They pleaded, therefore, that foreign ministers should follow this notable example. The foreign ministers, however, pointed to the treaty, in which it was laid down that no minister "should be called upon to perform any ceremony derogatory to him as representing the sovereign of an independent nation on a footing of equality with that of China," and explained that to bend the knee would obviously be to perform a derogatory ceremony. This answer was conclusive, and it was finally agreed that whenever it should please the emperor to grant an audience to the foreign ministers they should be expected only to bow thrice on entering the imperial presence.

In June, 1873, the emperor was moved to receive the ministers in solemn audience. It was reported at the time that this determination was mainly due to curiosity on the part of T'ungchih, who was desirous of seeing what sort of men the envoys were who had come from so great a distance to his court. But however that may be, on the 15th of the month an edict appeared, couched in the following terms: "The Tsungli Yamên having presented a memorial to the effect that the foreign ministers residing in Peking have implored us to grant an audience that they may deliver letters from their governments, we command that the foreign ministers residing in Peking, who have brought letters from their governments, be accorded audience. Respect this." The tone of this decree was not of hopeful augury. There was a dictatorial and discourteous air about it which, whether due to ignorance or impertinence, was, to say the least, unfortunate. Its appearance, however, put the Tsungli Yamên in a flutter, and for ten days a brisk discussion was carried on with the legations as to the etiquette which was to be observed on the occasion.

In a land such as China, where etiquette is the very breath of the nostrils of the officials, any modification in ceremonial practice, however trifling it may appear to Europeans, is regarded as being of vital importance. The mandarins had been obliged to yield the points of the k'ot'ow and the genuflexion, but there still remained to them the possibility of humiliating the ministers by inducing them to make their bows in a hall where it is customary for the emperor to receive the envoys of tributary states. This hall, the Tzŭkwang Ko, or "Pavilion of Purple Light," is situated outside the palace, and is, as the native guide-books tell us, the place where New Year receptions are granted to the outer tribes, and where wrestling and military exercises are performed for the amusement of the emperor. All this must have been perfectly well known to the foreign ministers, who were, however, so elated at the idea of entering the presence of the "Son of Heaven" that they agreed to accept the slur implied by the choice of the building. The day fixed for the ceremony was June 29, and the time determined by the emperor was the very inconvenient hour of six o'clock in the morning. Etiquette entailed upon the ministers the necessity of being in readiness even still earlier. On arriving at the palace grounds the six ministers, representing England, France, America, Russia, the Netherlands, and Japan, were escorted to the "Palace of Seasonableness," a temple in which the emperor is accustomed to pray for rain. Here light refreshments were offered, and after half an hour had been wasted in the consumption of confectionery and tea the envoys were conducted to a large tent pitched near the "Pavilion of Purple Light." A delay of an hour and a half was here endured, and at last the Japanese ambassador, in virtue of his ambassadorial rank, was summoned to the presence.

As soon as this official was dismissed the Western ministers were admitted into the hall, at the end of which T'ungchih was discovered, seated cross-legged, after the Manchu fashion, on a raised daïs surrounded by princes and ministers of state. In accordance with the prearranged programme, the ministers advanced bowing, and an address in Chinese having been read Prince Kung fell on his knees and went through the form of receiving the return message vouchsafed by the emperor. Charged with the weighty words of the "Son of Heaven," he rose and descended the steps from the daïs with his arms extended in imitation of the way in which Confucius, that great master of ceremony, used to practice leaving the presence of his sovereign as though in a state of agitation and alarm. The ministers then, having placed their letters of credence on the table which stood before his imperial majesty, made their bows and retired.

The whole history of this ceremony, like that of most of our dealings with the Chinese, is a signal example of the glamor which the Celestials have ever succeeded in throwing over their pretensions in the eyes of the Western world. The chief blot in the policy of certain countries prior to the Japanese war had been the half-concealed admission that they were in China purely on benevolent sufferance. In their relations with the mandarins they had in all cases been the suppliants, and the Chinese the dispensers of privileges. Their haughty attitude of stand-off-wardness has in these circumstances had its effect, and communications with them have been too often marked by undue deference. The attitude of the various governments toward Li Hung Chang during his recent visit was an instance in point. Neither his official position nor his private character entitled him in any way to the adulation which was shown him, and which he, after the manner of Orientals, repaid by acts of grave discourtesy. Nevertheless, these last were entirely overlooked by a mistaken consideration, and he doubtless departed to his native land satisfied that his countrymen were correct in holding that the countries of Europe were but hangers-on to the imperial bounty of the "Son of Heaven" and his ministers. That the reception of the foreign ministers by T'ungchih was a step in the right direction there can be no doubt, but it is also plain that a mistake was made in consenting to accept the "Pavilion of Purple Light" as the scene of the ceremony. The remark made by a member of the Tsungli Yamên to one of the foreign ministers, that "The princes who waited on the emperor had been surprised and pleased at the demeanor of himself and his colleagues," effectively displayed the patronizing attitude which the mandarins chose to adopt on the occasion.

Though for the nonce the foreign relations of the empire were at this time peaceful, the internal affairs of the country were far from being undisturbed. The rebellion which had decimated the province of Yunnan for so many years had been, it is true, brought to a conclusion by the surrender of Tali Fu. But the country was left desolate. The ravages of both the insurgents and the imperial forces had robbed the surviving wretched inhabitants of everything that makes life worth having, while disease and famine carried off thousands of those who, as by a miracle, had survived the sword. In response to an appeal from the distressed country the emperor remitted all the taxes due up to date, and by gifts of land and other inducements attempted to entice yeomen from the neighboring provinces to take up the deserted farms. The success of these efforts was only partial, and to this day the province bears traces of the iron heel of the Mohammedans. In the northwestern provinces of Kansu and Shensi legislative endeavors were made to restore to those districts some glimpses of their former prosperity, and it is amusing to find, in the light of recent experience, that the military authorities could suggest nothing better for the preservation of the peace of the provinces than that the army, which had apparently been allowed to revert to civil life, should be mustered again and armed with bows and arrows. Not only, however, had the troops become disorganized, but according to the literary chancellor of the viceroyalty, the civil population was suffering demoralization from the suspension of the competitive examinations, and with all the weight of his authority he went on to recommend, in the pages of the *Peking Gazette,* that these should be resumed, and, if this should be done, he did "not despair of the Book of Poetry having its duly mollifying effect on the manners of the people." The same implicit faith in the humanizing tendency of this ancient work was, according to the same periodical, held at this time by the governor of Canton, who suggested that a dissemination of its classic verses would be a fit and proper remedy for the clan fights which were in 1873 disturbing the peace of his province.

While these matters were claiming the attention of the imperial government a dispatch from Li Han Chang, a brother of

Li Hung Chang, announced the outbreak of a rebellion in Hunan, and at the same time the Yellow River, "China's Sorrow," burst its banks and flooded thousands of square miles of territory.

Before the year closed a cloud arose on the Eastern sea which seriously threatened a foreign war. Japan had long had grievances against her huge neighbor, and like other foreign powers had found unassisted diplomacy inadequate to extract the reparation which was due. On repeated occasions shipwrecked Japanese sailors had been cruelly put to death by the inhabitants of the Island of Formosa. For these outrages the Chinese declared themselves unable to make any compensation, or to apply any remedy. In these circumstances the Japanese landed a force on the island, and dispatched a special envoy to Peking to make a final attempt at arriving at a peaceful solution of the difficulty. In presence of these energetic measures the Chinese were disposed to yield, but they did so with an ill grace. They admitted their liability but declined to name any fixed sum which should be paid, or any date as to when it should become due. This attitude was so eminently unsatisfactory that the Japanese envoy had no other course to pursue than to prepare to leave Peking, and was on the point of taking his departure when Sir Thomas Wade intervened as a mediator between the disputants, and prevented a breach of the peace by making himself personally responsible for the payment of the 500,000 taels demanded by the Japanese.

It is always difficult to determine whose is the power behind the throne which directs political events in China. In the early days of T'ungchih's accession to power it was commonly reported that he was inclined to resent the imposition of the leading strings by which the dowager empresses, and his ministers, attempted to direct his course. Rumors were even afloat that, like another Haroun-al-Raschid, it was his wont to escape from the palace at night time and wander through the city that he might become acquainted at first hand with the actual condition of his subjects. It was said that Prince Kung's influence was particularly distasteful to him, and the people of the capital were, therefore, not much surprised when an edict appeared degrading that prince for the use of "language in very many respects unbecoming" to his imperial kinsman. That this degradation was fiercely resented by the empresses is proved by the fact that on the very next day a decree appeared under their signatures manual, reinstating the prince in his hereditary rank and honors. It would appear from this that the emperor had resisted the pressure brought to bear upon him by the dowager ladies, and that when they insisted, had "saved his face" by throwing the responsibility of the measure upon them. In fact at this period there was as little peace inside the palace walls as there was in the outlying provinces of the empire. No secrets are allowed to escape beyond the pink walls of the palace, and it is only possible to guess at much that goes on within those sacred precincts by the announcements which are officially promulgated. Toward the end of the year 1874 an edict appeared in the *Peking Gazette* stating that the emperor was "happily" ill with an attack of small-pox, and an effusively dutiful decree was thereupon published in his name, in which he besought the dowager empresses to undertake in their "overflowing benevolence" the administration of the empire during his illness. For some days the imperial patient was said to be progressing favorably, and honors were heaped on the physicians who had charge of his case. But the good effected by these learned men was only temporary. A turn for the worse set in, and on January 12, 1875, he became "a guest on high."

This event gave rise to one of those palace intrigues which are common in Eastern countries. As has been indicated the dowager empresses had on many occasions found the young emperor a refractory pupil, and they were naturally desirous of taking advantage of the opportunity thus afforded them of regaining the control of affairs, which custom had compelled them to give up when T'ungchih took to himself an empress and proclaimed his majority. The one obstacle in their way was the now widowed empress who, as was well known, might possibly give birth to an heir to the throne. In such a case she naturally would have become the regent during her son's minority, and this the elder ladies determined to put beyond the range of possibility. With a total disregard of the regulations ordering the imperial succession, they, without any delay, set about making a choice of an heir to T'ungchih. There were two candidates for this distinguished honor. One was the son of Prince Kung, who had arrived at years of discretion, and the other was Tsait'ien, the infant son of Prince Ch'un. Prince Kung's son was naturally the one who should have been chosen as being the eldest son of the eldest uncle of the late emperor. But in the eyes of the dowager empresses there were two

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fatal objections to his candidature. He was of age, and therefore would have supreme control of affairs, and, besides, his accession would have necessitated the retirement of Prince Kung, who could not, in accordance with the Chinese ideas of filial piety, have served under his son. Neither of these objections were prominent in the case of Tsait'ien, who was barely four years old, and whose succession to the throne would give a new lease of power to the intriguing ladies. His father also, not having taken any public part in political life, would have no office to vacate. Tsait'ien, therefore, was chosen, and by a pious fiction, common to Chinese practice, he was adopted as the son, not of T'ungchih, but of the preceding emperor, Hsienfêng. But Ahluta still remained, and it did not surprise those who had watched the course of events to hear that the poor lady had been seized with illness which in a few days proved fatal, and she died on March 29, 1875. It suited nobody's purpose to inquire too closely into the nature of the malady which had so conveniently removed a political difficulty, and certain it is that whatever may have been the dowager empresses' attitude toward her when alive, she had no sooner passed into the shades than they lavished encomiums upon her. The pages of the *Peking Gazette* were filled with her good deeds, and by common consent the posthumous title was conferred upon her of "The filial, wise, excellent, yielding, chaste, careful, virtuous, and intelligent Queen I, who governed her actions by the laws of heaven, and whose life added luster to the teachings of the sages."

Meanwhile strangely demonstrative decrees were issued under the signature of the infant emperor proclaiming, in all the fanciful verbiage of the East, his imaginary grief at the death of his predecessor, and belauding the virtues which he chose to attribute to him. "Prostrate upon the earth," he wrote, "we bewail our grief to Heaven, vainly stretching out Our hands in lamentation." It now only remained to choose an imperial epithet for the infant "Son of Heaven," and in accordance with the prescribed forms a number of complimentary titles were submitted for selection to Tsait'ien, who is supposed to have chosen the designation of Kwanghsü or "The Succession of Glory."

One of the grievances which the dowager empresses had against T'ungchih was that by a laxity of administration he had allowed the palace eunuchs to assume functions and exercise powers to which they were in no wise entitled. One of the first acts of the regents, therefore, was to put these assuming courtiers in their proper places. Seven of the principal offenders were consequently put on their trial, with the result that three were transported to the Amur, there to act as slaves, and four others were severely bastinadoed. These salutary lessons brought these pests of the palace to their bearings.

To those on the spot who had followed the course of current events in China it was obvious that, since the conclusion of the treaty, there had been rather a decrease than an increase in the friendly feeling toward foreigners on the part of the officials. In fact, since the establishment of the legations at Peking there had been a marked change in a hostile direction, and though the Chinese Government professed friendly feelings toward the treaty powers, there were not lacking signs of a settled intention on the part of even the most highly placed officials to restrict the provisions of the treaty so far as possible. Before the death of T'ungchih, it had been arranged that the viceroy of India should send an expedition *via* Bhamo, in Burma, into Yunnan, for the purpose of opening commercial relations with that district. In December, 1874, the members of the mission arrived at Mandalay, and as soon as their arrangements were complete, started for Bhamo. To further the success of the undertaking it was determined to send Margary, one of the Chinese consular service, who besides being a good Chinese scholar was a thoroughly capable man, to meet the expedition at Bhamo. On his way from Shanghai to the western frontier he met with every civility from the local mandarins, and eventually joined hands with Colonel Browne at Bhamo, on January 26, 1875. After some delay, during which reports had reached Bhamo that a Chinese force was collecting in the mountain passes to bar the passage of the expedition, Colonel Browne's party started eastward. By the light of his experience *en route* from Shanghai, Margary considered the rumor of opposition to be unworthy of credit, and with the consent of Colonel Browne, went ahead of the expedition to inquire exactly into the condition of affairs. On February 19 he arrived without difficulty at Manwyne, a town within the Chinese frontier, where he was hospitably received by the officials. On the following day he was invited to visit a mineral spring in the neighborhood, and while on this excursion he was savagely assaulted and murdered. At the same time a Chinese force attacked Colonel Browne's party. These assailants were beaten off without much difficulty, but the murder of Margary, and the hostile attitude of the people, determined Colonel Browne to give up any thought of proceeding further, and he returned to Bhamo.

So soon as the news of this outrage reached Peking, Sir Thomas Wade made strong remonstrances at the Tsungli Yamên, and insisted that a joint commission of English and Chinese officials should proceed to the spot to investigate the circumstances of the murder. But the Tsungli Yamên was in a more than usually obstructive mood, and for months Sir Thomas Wade's demands were met with consistent prevarications and delay. When no unemployed subterfuge for shelving the question at issue remained to them, they, in quite their approved manner, named a Taot'ai of inferior position as the colleague of Grosvenor, the designated secretary of legation, in the commission of inquiry. Sir Thomas Wade refused to accept this appointment on the ground of the comparatively mean rank of the officer nominated, and finally induced Prince Kung and his colleagues to appoint in his stead Li Han Chang, the viceroy of the two Hu provinces. This was only the preliminary difficulty to be overcome, for Li, imitating the conduct of his superiors, required two months to make his preparation for the journey. But everything must come to an end, even a Chinaman's delays, and eventually the commission arrived at Manwyne and opened proceedings.

Meanwhile Sir Thomas Wade put forward seven demands to the Chinese Government, which he considered should be satisfied before there could be any reasonable possibility of bringing the matter to a satisfactory conclusion. The first of these had reference to improving the condition of diplomatic intercourse at Peking; the second to the enlargement of trading facilities; the third to the provision of a sufficient escort to Grosvenor; the fourth to the promise of an escort for another mission from India; the fifth to requiring the Viceroy Ts'ên to state how it happened that nearly six months after the murder of Margary no definite information concerning it had reached the Yamên; the sixth to insisting that a minister should be sent to England to express the regret of the Chinese Government at the outrage; and the seventh to demanding that the decree, directing the appointment of this minister to England, should be published in the *Peking Gazette.*

To the first of these the Tsungli Yamên returned a characteristic answer. The ministers stated it was not customary for Chinese officials who were not charged with the management of foreign affairs to hold intercourse with foreigners, "and it consequently behooves them," they added, "not to be in relations with the foreign representatives at Peking." They declined also to send a mission of apology, and added "that it was not open to the servants of his Majesty the emperor to make suggestions regarding his decrees." At this time Sir Thomas Wade was at Tientsin and had used Li Hung Chang as an intermediary with the government. The course which the proceedings now took, however, was so eminently unsatisfactory that he had made up his mind to return to Peking, and was on the point of departure when the following laconic imperial decree was brought to his notice. "Let Li Hung Chang and Ting Jihch'ang negotiate respecting the Margary affair with the British minister, Mr. Wade, at Tientsin." This edict appeared to constitute Li a plenipotentiary, and Sir Thomas Wade was, therefore, not unnaturally surprised when the Tsungli Yamên subsequently declined to endorse certain concessions made by their representative, and further announced at the same time "that it did not follow that what his Excellency Li might guarantee at Tientsin should be given effect to at Peking."

The position of affairs in Yunnan was in every way as unsatisfactory as the course of the negotiations at Peking. Every obstacle was put in the way of the English commissioner, and it was rendered quite impossible for him to arrive at the true conclusion of the matter by the withholding of much important evidence, and by the obtrusion of other so-called testimony which was absolutely valueless. It was plainly the intention of the supreme authorities to shelter the Viceroy Ts'ên from all blame in the matter. This man's record was bad, and was blood-stained with every species of cruelty. During the suppression of the Mohammedan rebellion in the province he had sent to the execution ground hecatombs of victims, and in the opinion of all unprejudiced observers, it was plain that in this case he was primarily responsible for the murder. But it was impossible to get any witnesses to give evidence against him. Men who were in close relations with him professed to know nothing of his attitude in the matter, while at the same time they gave voluble testimony against a number of men of a border tribe, who were as far from their cognizance as Ts'ên was near. Of only one official had they a word of disparagement to say. This was Colonel Li (Li Sieht'ai), who had begun life as a brigand, who had then turned rebel, and who had eventually transferred his valuable services to the provincial authorities. By all accounts this was the man who led the troops which opposed Colonel Browne's party.

So thoroughly unsatisfactory were the results thus obtained, that Sir Thomas Wade refrained to press for the punishment of the accused, and finally despairing of arriving at a satisfactory arrangement with so tortuously-minded a government as that at Peking, hauled down his flag, and took ship for Shanghai. This step seriously alarmed the Tsungli Yamên, and after some negotiations Sir Thomas Wade agreed to meet Li Hung Chang at Chifu (Chefoo) to discuss the terms of a settlement. The result of the discussions which ensued was the Chifu Convention, which after having been unconfirmed for twelve years was at last ratified.

One result of these long-drawn-out negotiations was that a permanent Chinese minister was sent to the Court of St. James's. The choice of the first envoy plenipotentiary was an eminently fortunate one. Kwo Sungtao had had relations with foreigners in China, and was possessed of a conciliatory and courteous demeanor. Gladstone once said of him, "he was the most genial Oriental whom he had ever met," and during his tenure of the legation in Portland Place, international matters went smoothly and well. While the foreign relations of the empire had thus been disturbed, the attention of both officials and people at Peking had been absorbed by the details of the funerals of the late emperor and empress. Vast preparations were made for the august ceremony, and it was determined that both the young emperor and the dowager empresses should follow the *cortège* to the imperial mausolea in the eastern mountains. The sudden and unaccounted-for death of Ahluta had agitated the Pekingese not a little, and one censor, more bold than the rest, took upon himself to suggest that an extra title of honor should be conferred upon her late Majesty in commemoration of her many virtues. This was regarded as an implied censure by the dowager empresses, who issued an angry decree in response declaring the suggestion to be absurd, and ordering the unfortunate censor to be severely punished. On October 16, 1875, the funeral *cortège* left Peking, and on the 25th the emperor returned to his capital. More than usual magnificence was lavished on the procession and accompanying ceremonies. The coffins were each carried by a hundred and twenty-eight bearers, who were relieved sixty times during the day; and the cost incurred amounted to 189,000 taels.

These imperial dead were scarcely laid to rest in the costly tombs raised to their memory, when their unhappy country, which was just recovering from the effects of wars and disturbances, was afflicted with one of the most severe famines which have been known in the recent history of the world. Over a large portion of the north of China, consisting of an area as large as France, there lies a deep deposit of the geological formation known as loess. This formation consists of a light friable soil, and covers the country to the depth of a hundred feet or more, leveling up the valleys and bringing low the hills. In favorable seasons when rains are frequent and temperate, the crops grown on the loess are full and generous. It is only necessary for the farmer to scratch the surface and sow his seed. Manure is unnecessary, and the usual succession of rich crops which are commonly yielded has earned for the district the name of the "Garden of China." But all this fertility depends on the fall of sufficient rain and snow. In seasons when the clouds refuse their moisture, the winds which prevail blow away the surface soil, and leave the seed grain exposed to the desiccating influences of the sun and wind. It is these conditions which afford a substantial reason for the prayers which are offered up by the emperor in person in seasons of summer drought and when the winter coating of snow is persistently withheld.

During the years 1874-1875 there had been a marked deficiency of moisture, a want which was further intensified in the following year, and which ultimately ended in rendering absolutely sterile the seed sown by the farmers. The results were disastrous in the extreme. With such imperfect means of communication as the Chinese possess, it is impossible to supply the deficiencies of one district by the superfluities of others with sufficient speed to prevent the occurrence of famine. Over the four provinces of Chihli, Shansi, Honan, and Kansu, a dire scarcity prevailed, and though every effort was made, both by foreigners and natives, to bring aid to the starving people, upward of nine million perished before succeeding crops supplied food for the survivors. In this emergency Li Hung Chang succeeded in collecting as much as 289,394 taels, and a foreign relief committee at Shanghai was able to hand over 204,560 taels to provide grain for the unfortunate sufferers. It is illustrative of the deeply-grained dishonesty which pervades China that, even in the presence of such a fearful calamity, the peculating tendencies of native officials remained too strong to be overcome. In these circumstances Li Hung Chang set a worthy example, and reported a number of his subordinates who had been taken red-handed in intercepting the monies subscribed for the purchase of grain. These men were severely punished, and it is a pleasure to know that one agent, who had mixed alum with the flour which he distributed in such proportions as to make it uneatable, met with exemplary punishment.

Li, who always had a keen eye for business profits, made large use of the vessels of the China Merchant Steam Navigation Company, of which he was the promoter, for the conveyance of the grain to the famine districts, and the result was undoubtedly satisfactory. But the bad roads and imperfect conveyances made the transport of the grain from the ports to the inland localities a matter of serious difficulty. The prominence which was thus given to the faulty native means of intercommunication, brought once more to the front the question of introducing railways into the country. Already a small company of foreign merchants had, with the permission of the viceroy of the two Kiang provinces, constructed a line from Shanghai to Wusung, at the mouth of the river, a distance of about twelve miles. For a time all things went smoothly with the new venture. The line was popular with the people, who crowded the carriages to such an extent that some would-be passengers were left behind on almost every railway platform. But though it quickly secured the favor of the people, its success was gall and wormwood to the *Literati,* to whom any foreign innovation is anathema. Confucius laid it down that his countrymen should not accept any new devices from abroad, and with curious pertinacity the students of what is known as the Confucian literature have steadily adhered to his advice. Life is not counted as being of much value in China, and when it became known that it would be a convenience to the official classes if a man were run over and killed, the event at once took place. This supplied the well-known Chinese device in such cases of a demand of a life for a life. A reference to the Consular Court naturally disposed of this preposterous proposition. Another means had therefore to be employed to arrive at the same end. Nothing is easier than to get up a riot in China, and it soon became evident that the appeal of the *Literati* to the people would meet with its usual success. So serious did affairs become under the influence of these mischief-makers that the viceroy was obliged to intervene, and the matter was referred for decision to Sir Thomas Wade and Li Hung Chang, who at the time were negotiating the Chifu Convention.

Li disclaimed all administrative power in the matter, and, in face of the opposition which had been roused, Sir Thomas Wade recommended that the trains should cease to run until a decision should be arrived at. Events in which foreigners were implicated had in those days a tendency to develop in one direction. This was no exception to the rule, and after much discussion, it was agreed that the Chinese should become owners of the railway by purchase. This sealed its fate, the rails were at once ruthlessly torn up, and were exported to the Island of Formosa, where they were allowed to rot on the seashore. The practical utility of railways is so palpable that Li, in common with all men of intelligence, had always fully recognized their advantage, and being at the time interested in the development of some coal mines within his jurisdiction, he proposed to make a line to connect these pits with Tientsin and Taku. The district through which this line was to run was sparsely inhabited, and was entirely free from the presence of obstructive scholars. Li's influence, however, was sufficient to have overcome any opposition which might have existed, but as none appeared, no difficulty arose in the construction of the line which still carries coal between K'aip'ing and the sea, to the infinite advantage of the province. The object lesson taught by this railroad has not been lost on the natives of the locality, and for a long time the only lines which existed in the empire—one from Taku to Peking, and the other a continuation of the K'aip'ing line to Shanhaikwan—were in this immediate neighborhood.

In so vast an empire as China, with so many feudatory states owing allegiance to her, it can seldom be that complete peace reigns within her territories. A rebellion which broke out in Annan at this time was put down after some difficulty with the assistance of Chinese troops, and later the court of Peking was disturbed by the news of a serious outbreak in Korea. Japan had already opened diplomatic intercourse with that country, and had claimed, as she always had done, suzerainty over it. At this time, as has not uncommonly happened in the annals of that unhappy country, Korea was a house divided against itself. The king who still reigns is a well-meaning man, but without sufficient character to give effect to his good intentions in the face of opposition. He also suffered under the disadvantage of having witnessed during a long minority his father rule, or rather misrule, in the country. This man's external policy had been consistently anti-foreign. He had successfully opposed attempts made by French and American expeditions to enter the country, and when at length he handed over the reins of power to his son, he attempted to direct his successor's policy on the lines which he himself had followed. Finding, however, that his son was unwilling to accept his guidance in these matters, he used all his arts of intrigue to carry his points. He had bitterly opposed the Japanese Treaty, and finding the king obdurate on the question, he determined to effect by violence that which he could not gain by argument. At his instigation an attack was made on the Japanese legation at Seoul, and so fierce was the assault that the Japanese, after defending the building so long as it was tenable, sallied out against the mob, and fought their way to the seacoast, where they found shelter and protection on board a British gunboat. The ex-regent T'aiwên Kun was now supreme. The young king was made a prisoner, and the queen was only saved from assassination by the devotion of one of her ladies who met death in her stead. On receipt of the news of this outrage Li Hung Chang, who was ordered by an imperial edict to take the matter in hand, dispatched an official named Ma with a fleet of ironclads to suppress the riots, while at the same time the Japanese Government reëstablished their legation with the support of a strong escort.

It was plain to Li, and to his lieutenant Ma, that so long as the ex-regent was at liberty to plot and intrigue, peace was impossible. They determined, therefore, that it was for the good of the country that he should be deported for a while. The kidnapping of officials in such circumstances is not an unusual practice in the East, and Ma was only acting after the manner of his countrymen when, having invited the T'aiwên Kun to an entertainment on board his ship, he steamed off to China with his unsuspecting visitor. On the arrival of this Korean plotter on Chinese soil an imperial edict was issued ordering that he should, for the remainder of his life, "live at peace at Paoting Fu in Chihli. . . . Let the governor general of Chihli," so ran on the document, "continue bountifully to afford him such support as his rank demands, and strictly keep watch over him, that thus a cause of trouble and calamity to Korea may be removed, and the breach of the laws of kindred toward the prince of that kingdom be healed."

Meanwhile Japan had made demands for compensation for the insult offered to her flag in the attack on the legation at Seoul. Five hundred thousand dollars were claimed as an indemnity for the cost of the expedition; a new treaty port was insisted on; and it was required that a mission of apology be sent to Japan to satisfy the *amour propre* of the Mikado's Government. Being absolutely powerless to refuse consent to these, or any other conditions, the Korean Government readily yielded all that was asked.

For some time Li Hung Chang and those who acted with him had observed with growing anxiety the advances which Japan had been making in the equipment of her army and navy, and in 1882 a secret memorial was presented to the throne by Chang Peilun, detailing the reforms which were being introduced into the Japanese army, and urging that it was the duty of "our empire to check in time threatening evil from Japan, and to establish definitely the supremacy of China over its neighbor." Chang was careful, however, to explain that an invasion of Japan would, in existing circumstances, be a hazardous undertaking, and he very reasonably advocated the necessity of adding strength to the forces and fortifications of the empire. Li, to whom this and other memorials of a similar kind were referred, advised caution, as was his wont, and summed up his recommendations in these words: "It is above all things necessary to strengthen our country's defenses, to organize a powerful navy, and not to undertake aggressive steps against Japan in too great a hurry."

We have seen the miserable figure which the Chinese forces cut in their late encounter with Japan, and if it is possible to imagine a greater disproportion of strength than was then displayed, it would have been found at the time of which we speak. For years the Japanese had been organizing their army on the European model, and had armed their troops with the newest weapons invented at Elswick and by Krupp; while the Chinese soldiers, with the exception of a small body enlisted by Li, were still trusting in their bows and arrows and in the scarcely more effective jingals. In accordance with Li's advice the trial of strength was postponed, and if his subsequent counsel had been followed the battles of 1894 and 1895 would never have been fought.

But though the Chinese Government was successful in avoiding a war with Japan, it was unable to escape complications which ended in the outbreak of hostilities with France in connection with affairs in Tongking. For many years the French Government had had relations with Annam, which, however, had never been carried on in any other than an intermittent fashion in accordance with the changes and chances of home politics. French missionaries had with indefatigable zeal attempted to introduce the knowledge of Christianity among the Annamese, and consequent persecutions had from time to time broken out which had not unfrequently ended in the massacre of the foreign priests. In this desultory and unsatisfactory manner relations were maintained until 1858, when, in consequence of the refusal of the king to carry out the terms of a treaty negotiated so far back in 1787, the French fleet destroyed the forts of Tourane and captured the town of Saigon. At this last-named city they established themselves, and when, after the war of 1870, the enthusiasm for a colonial empire became so pronounced in France, they used it as a base from which to attempt to extend their influence over the neighboring province of Tongking. One or two expeditions, which were rather of the nature of filibustering adventures, were sent against Hanoi, the capital of the province, and gained temporary success. Annam, including Tongking, had for centuries been a feudatory state of China, and had acknowledged fealty by dispatching at regular intervals tributary missions to Peking. As in duty bound, the king on this occasion reported to his liege lord the efforts which the French were making to gain possession of his northern province, and rather than risk a rupture Li Hung Chang, as the Chinese representative, agreed in response to hand over to France that portion of the country which was south of the Songkoi River. We have already seen that Li's recommendations were not always accepted at Peking, and on this occasion, both in that capital and in Paris, the conditions proposed were peremptorily rejected. For ten years matters remained in this unsatisfactory condition; the French being ever aggressive and the Annamese doing their utmost by force and by intrigue to oppose the advance of the invaders. At length, in 1884, the important towns of Sontay and Bacninh were threatened by French armies. The garrisons of these cities were mainly composed of Chinese troops, and the Marquis Tsêng, who represented China at Paris at the time, was instructed to inform the French Government that China would regard an attack on those positions as an act of war.

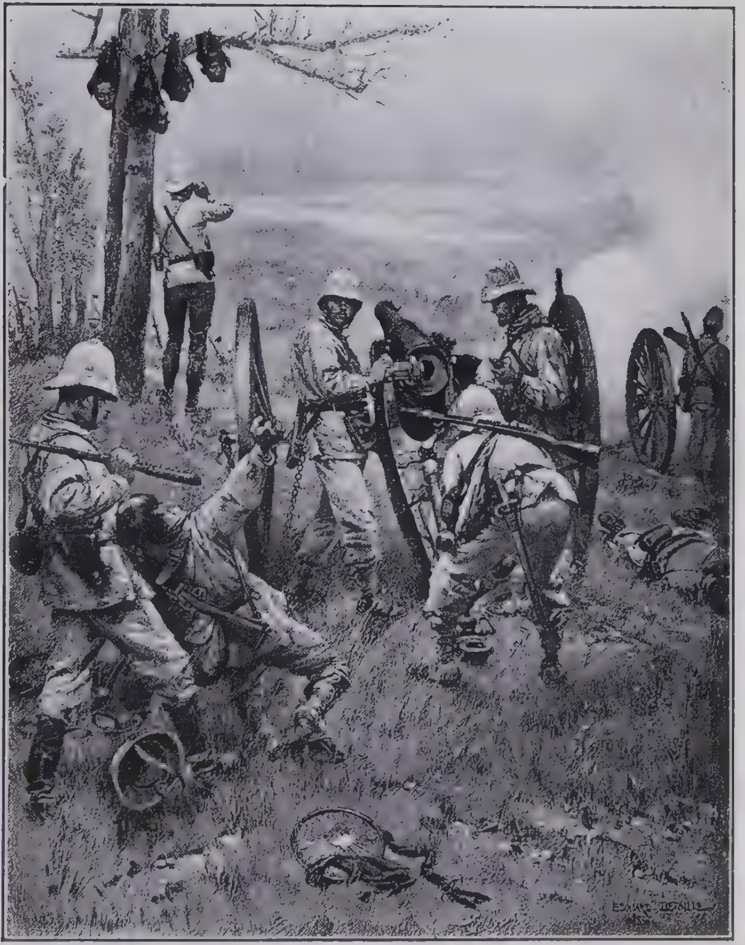
This threat, however, proved to be utterly unavailing, and, in defiance of the Marquis's warning the two cities were attacked and occupied by the French. It has never been the practice of the Chinese Government, until the outbreak of the recent war with Japan, to make a formal declaration of war, and as the French saw no necessity for going through that formality, the two countries, while contending in the field, remained diplomatically at peace. In Peking a strong party, headed by Li Hung Chang, were desirous of coming to terms with the enemy while they were in the way with him, and the dowager empresses took occasion to emphasize their sympathy with the peace party by issuing a decree depriving "Prince Kung and several other ministers of all their offices, and imposing condign punishment upon all who were responsible for the failure in Tongking." In these circumstances Detring, a member of the China Customs Service, was encouraged to suggest the opening of negotiations between Captain Fournier, of the French navy, and Li Hung Chang. Both parties being favorably disposed toward the conclusion of peace, terms were readily arrived at, and a convention was eventually signed between the two plenipotentiaries. By this instrument it was agreed that France should respect, and, in case of need, protect the southern frontier of China, which separates that country from Tongking, and at the same time China undertook to withdraw at once all her troops from Tongking.

Unfortunately for the permanence of the peace proposed by this treaty, the plenipotentiaries had omitted to name the date at which the Chinese troops were to be withdrawn, and, as it afterward turned out, the two contracting parties held different views on this very important subject. Li was under the impression that it had been arranged that the movement should take place at the end of three months; Fournier, on the other hand, believed that three weeks was the limit allowed. Neither date, however, seems to have been mentioned to Colonel Dugenne, the commander of the troops in the neighborhood of Langson, when notice was sent him of the conclusion of peace. With the impatience of a new possessor, therefore, he marched toward the town, and on arriving at a defile some distance from the city he was met by a considerable Chinese force drawn up to oppose his advance. When he demanded a passage through the lines of this hostile array, three mandarins came forward, and, explaining that they had had no intimation of the suspension of hostilities, demanded time that they might communicate with the commanding officer at Langson. Dugenne interned these men as hostages, and then professed his willingness to wait for the required reference. By some misadventure the zephyrs, or criminal corps of the army, opened fire upon the Chinese, and brought about an engagement. Two of the hostages, perceiving the mistake, attempted to ride back to their army to stop the fighting. Their intention, however, being misunderstood, they were both shot, while the third met the same fate by the discharge of a pistol. The action now became general, and the French were completely defeated. Their losses were heavy both in men and in baggage, and the troops would have been entirely overwhelmed had it not been for the gallant action of a body of *Chasseurs d'Afrique,* who checked the pursuing Chinamen.

This misadventure gave rise to mutual recriminations between the two negotiators of the convention. Captain Fournier averred that he had agreed with Li as to the dates on which the fortresses were to be given up, while Li asserted that when he protested against the impossibly short time named, Captain Fournier had run his pen through the clauses in dispute. In defense of his conduct Fournier wrote to Ferry, affirming upon his honor that he had neither canceled nor evaded any of the dates and stipulations of the note handed to Li Hung Chang. In opposition to this very categorical statement, Ma, the captor of the Taiwên Kun of Korea, and Lo Fênglu, later minister to England, signed a letter addressed to the *North China Herald,* in which they stated that they "saw with their own eyes Captain Fournier with his own hand make the said erasures and put his initials thereto."

After these events peace became impossible, and both in Tongking and Formosa the French again began operations. In the former province General Négrier took the field, and with some difficulty captured the stronghold of Langson on February 13, 1885, while Admiral Courbet attacked, though unsuccessfully, Kelung, on the northern coast of Formosa. Finding his efforts there to be unavailing the admiral steamed across to Foochow. Of this intended movement the Chinese had notice, but Chang P'eilun, of whom mention has already been made, and who was commanding at Foochow at the time, entirely disregarded the intimation. With a certain disingenuousness Admiral Courbet, on the plea that war had not been declared, steamed by the forts at the mouth of the Min River, and anchored among the Chinese fleet in rear of the defenses. Secure in his position, Courbet demanded the immediate surrender of the fleet and forts, and on this being refused, opened fire on the Chinese ships as they lay at anchor. In seven minutes the destruction of the Chinese vessels was complete, and the harbor was full of wreckage and drowning sailors. Between the natives of the provinces of Kwangtung and Fuhkien there has always been a standing feud, and the horrors of the situation were increased on this occasion by the fact that as the Kwangtung sailors scrambled up to the shore they were murdered by their Fuhkien countrymen. So complete was the disaster that it might fairly be considered impossible that even a Chinaman could have described it otherwise than as a defeat. But Chang P'eilun was equal to the occasion, and with splendid mendacity reported to the throne that he had gained a complete victory over the French, and had sunk several of their ships. The facts, however, which immediately transpired were too plain to make any such statement credible, and Chang P'eilun escaped execution by accepting transportation to the frontier. Being a protégé of Li Hung Chang, his exile was only temporary, and before long he returned to marry Li's daughter, and to take an active part in the management of his patron's concerns.

After his exploit in the Foochow harbor Admiral Courbet, after having made five unsuccessful attacks on the forts near Kelung, at length succeeded in taking them in March, 1885, and further occupied the Pescadores. In Tongking, however, the French cause was not so successful. A system of guerrilla warfare, while it failed to bring glory to the Tricolor, had an exhausting effect on the troops, and it was found necessary in April to evacuate Langson. Both sides were now heartily tired of the war, and the Tsungli Yamên was relieved to hear from Sir Robert Hart that the negotiations which they had authorized him to carry on with France had been brought to a successful issue. The announcement of this welcome conclusion of peace was made by Sir Robert Hart in the enigmatic fashion so much affected by the Chinese. Sir Robert called one day at the Tsungli Yamên, and, addressing the ministers, said: "Nine months ago you authorized me to open negotiations for peace, and now——" "The baby is born," said the ministers



GENERAL NEGRIER ATTACKING THE STRONGHOLD OF LANGSON,
FEBRUARY 13, 1885
Painting by E. Detaille

before he could proceed further. "Yes," said Sir Robert, "the preliminaries of peace are arranged." Congratulations followed, and it was agreed that the details of the treaty should be left to the consideration of Li Hung Chang and the French minister, Patenôtre, at Peking. On June 9, 1885, the treaty was signed by these plenipotentiaries, and it is eminently confirmatory of Li's prescience that after a year's conflict, which had cost his country 60,000,000 taels and the loss of the Foochow fleet, the Chinese Government had been willing to accept terms almost identical with those which he had arranged with Fournier in the preceding year.

Meanwhile disturbances had again broken out in Korea. Notwithstanding the imperial assertion that the transportation of the Taiwên Kun was to be for life, he was, in a moment of weakness, allowed to return to his native country. The result of this manumission was disastrous. He found on his return to his familiar haunts that the king had in his absence introduced extensive reforms, and among others a postal system modeled on European lines. To this and all other innovations he was as ever, determined to offer strenuous opposition, and, by skillful intrigue, he so contrived that on the occasion of a dinner given to celebrate the inauguration of the new post office, a band of rebels was introduced into the banqueting hall, who attempted to lay violent hands on the king. For some days fighting in the capital continued between the two contending parties, the reformers and the reactionists, and in the course of the hostilities a determined attack was made on the Japanese legation, when for the second time the minister and his staff had to fight their way to the coast. In response to this outrage, and in defense of their national honor, the Japanese landed a force at Chemulpo, the port of Seoul; while at the same time a Chinese army entered the Korean capital. The situation of 1882 was thus repeated, and, as on that occasion, it seemed only too probable that the two protecting powers would be drawn into a war. Happily the danger was averted, and negotiations between the two states were entered upon at Tientsin, Count Ito representing Japan and Li Hung Chang China.

After considerable discussion a convention was signed by which it was agreed that both China and Japan should withdraw their troops from Korea within four months of the date of the signature of the treaty; that the King of Korea should be invited to instruct and drill a sufficient armed force to assure the public security of the kingdom; and that "in case of any disturbance of a grave nature occurring in Korea, which may oblige the respective countries or either of them to send troops to Korea, it is hereby understood that they shall give, each to the other, previous notice in writing of their intention so to do, and that after the matter is settled they shall withdraw their troops and not further station them in the country." This last clause is worthy of attention, as it was the infringement of it, or alleged infringement of it, on the part of China, which led to the outbreak of the recent war with Japan.

The war with France which had lately been brought to a close, and the threatened hostilities with Japan, awoke, for a moment, at Peking a desire to strengthen the forces of the country. Ships were added to the navy, and advice poured in from censors and others as to the best means of protecting the empire against foreign foes. A board of admiralty was instituted of which Prince Ch'un, the father of the emperor, was made first lord, and so seriously did he regard his position that in the summer of 1886 he took the unprecedented step of leaving the capital to inspect the fleet and arsenals at Tientsin and Port Arthur. Under this new naval administration Captain Lang, of the British navy, was appointed admiral of the northern fleet, which by that curious system of decentralization which prevails in China was alone placed under the control of Prince Ch'un and his colleagues, the southern fleet, with its headquarters at Foochow, being administered by the local provincial magnates. This curious arrangement led to some strange results in the recent war with Japan. At Wei-hai-wei, when the Chinese fleet surrendered, a ship of the southern squadron happened by chance to be among them. The captain of this vessel, not in the least understanding why he should be held a prisoner when his presence with the northern fleet had been the result of an accident, represented his case to the Japanese admiral, and requested that he and his ship should be released, as otherwise he might fall under the censure of his superiors!

The year 1886 was a busy year in foreign politics, more especially so far as relations with Great Britain were concerned. At this time King Thebaw's misdoings had led to British occupation of Upper Burma, a territory over which China claimed suzerain rights. With that tender regard for the feelings of the emperor and his ministers which has always distinguished the British foreign office, it was agreed that if China would consent no longer to interfere in Burmese politics, the decennial tribute mission should continue to be dispatched to Peking. The folly of this arrangement soon became apparent. Since 1842 Great Britain's main endeavor in dealing with the Chinese had been to bring home to their consciousness the fact that she was a nation to be treated on terms of perfect equality with themselves. The sending of the tribute mission can only be accounted for by presupposing on the part of the foreign office a complete ignorance of Asiatics and their modes of thought. With a return to a more reasonable mind the arrangement was discontinued.

The latest outbreak in Korea, described above, had disquieted other countries besides China and Japan. The Russians protested that such disturbances, recurring at such short intervals, presented a danger to the peace of their provinces across the frontier which was not to be endured, and there were not wanting the usual signs of a threatened move southward on the part of the Colossus of the North. In these circumstances the British admiralty determined, as a protective measure, to occupy Port Hamilton, an island off the southern coast of Korea. In obedience to the following laconic telegram: "Occupy Port Hamilton, and report proceedings," Admiral Sir William Dowell hoisted the British flag on the island. This move aroused, as might have been expected, considerable Russian opposition, and the czar's minister at Peking was instructed to warn the Chinese that if the occupation was persisted in, Russia would be compelled to take possession of a similar foothold in self-defense. Happily under the influence of the Ito and Li convention a more peaceful state of affairs had supervened in Korea, and the British Government felt justified, under the favorably altered circumstances, in yielding the point. It was, however, laid down as a condition of the restoration of the island, that under no circumstances whatever should it at any time be handed over to any other foreign power, and simultaneously the Chinese Government extracted from the Russian minister a categorical undertaking that his country would not, under any circumstances, interfere with Korean territory. On February 27, 1887, the British flag ceased to fly over Port Hamilton.

The year which followed was an uneventful one as far as foreign politics are concerned, but the internal affairs of the empire gave plenty of occupation to the emperor's ministers. The reforms in the army were still being carried on, although in the usual ineffective Oriental way. How deplorable was the condition of this branch of the service may be inferred from memorials presented to the throne at this time. The governor of Shensi proposed to inspect the troops of the province, who for thirty years had never presented themselves on the parade ground. The troops in the province of Yunnan were perhaps not quite in so parlous a condition. They were, however, mainly armed with bows and arrows, and the governor with some show of reason reminded his imperial master that though archery is a good gymnastic exercise, the weapons with which battles are won are rifles and cannon, and he, therefore, proposed to arm his men, so far as possible, with these weapons. Doubtless the miserable condition of the army is attributable to the fact that at earlier periods the enemies whom the Chinese have been accustomed to meet have been even worse armed and worse drilled than themselves.

At the time of which we speak a war was being waged in Hainan against the aboriginal tribes who inhabit and disturb that island. After many engagements and a lengthened campaign, the Chinese general announced the suppression of the revolt and received from the emperor characteristic rewards for his martial valor. His Majesty presented him with a jade thumb-ring, a dagger with a jade handle, a pair of large pouches, and a pair of small ones. An incidental reference in the general's dispatch to the unhealthfulness of the climate and the malarial evils arising from it awakened the sympathy of the dowager empress, who was good enough to present the army with ten boxes of *P'ingan Tan,* or "pills of peace and tranquillity."

In the beginning of 1887 an announcement was made that the young emperor, having now reached years of discretion, that is to say the ripe age of sixteen would accept the reins of power. But this apparently did not harmonize with the wishes of the "Son of Heaven." "When I heard of the decree," he wrote in his edict in response, "I trembled as if I was in mid-ocean, not knowing where the land is. Her Majesty will, however, continue to advise me for a few years longer in important affairs of state. I shall not dare to be indolent, and, in obedience to the Empress's command, I have petitioned heaven, earth, and my ancestors, that I may assume the administration of the government in person on the 15th day of the first moon in the thirteenth year of my reign. Guided by

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the counsel of Her Majesty, everything will be done with care." As a matter of fact the dowager empress did not retire from the control of affairs until 1889, and even since then she has exercised considerable influence in the administration of the empire. It is not to be wondered at that the emperor desired to put off as long as possible the weight of government. The life of a "Son of Heaven" is certainly not to be envied. With rare exceptions he remains a state prisoner within the palace walls, and even on the Progresses which he is occasionally called upon to make, the heavy duties of his position are still constantly with him. Even at the time when the dowager empress shared his responsibilities, his duties were onerous, and from notices which appeared in the *Peking Gazette* some idea of his official thraldom can be gained. In March, 1887, he visited the tombs of his ancestors in the Western Hills, and each day at fixed hours batches of memorials were sent after him to occupy his leisure moments at the halting-places. On arriving at the mausolea he performed at the tombs the sacrifices which were necessary for the repose of the dead, who, if his object were gained, would appear to have been the only ones benefited by the process. For weeks beforehand the people living on the highway were charged with the duty of repairing the road and mending the bridges. This duty they, on this occasion, failed to perform to the complete satisfaction of the traveler, who made a formal complaint that he had observed wheel tracks on the roadway over which his chariot should have been the first to travel.

It must always be a matter of wonder how the national accounts, being of an extremely fluctuating nature, can ever be made to balance. In the year of which we are speaking the Yellow River was more than usually capricious in its ebb and flow. On several occasions it burst its banks and flooded the country far and wide. As a natural consequence farms were desolated and whole villages were swept away. From people in such straits it was plainly impossible to expect payment of taxes, and neither from the provinces of Honan nor Shantung was a tithe of the usual revenue received. The currency also is of so variable a value that large losses are constantly incurred by the mints, and Kwanghsü's ministers had not only to bear the brunt of a monetary crisis in Peking, but had to meet the consequences of several financial panics in different parts of the empire. At Foochow, as elsewhere, the local banks had issued paper currency far beyond the due proportion of reserve coin in their chests. The natural results followed, and as the banks closed their doors they were attacked by angry mobs who wrecked them utterly, and attempted, vainly, to recompense themselves by plunder for the losses they had sustained. In the midst of these money difficulties the emperor, in a lofty manner, issued an edict calling upon his officials to exercise the strictest economy in the administration of the empire, and warning the court mandarins to avoid all unnecessary expenditure in the palace ceremonies, for, as he said, "the court should stand forth as an example of frugality to the whole nation."

At this time the war with France had given a great impetus to the extension of telegraphs throughout the empire, and in 1887 the line was completed which connected Peking with the capital of Yunnan, the extreme southwesterly province in the empire. The old-fashioned notion that the *fêngshui*[1] of the districts through which the wires passed would be affected by their presence had ceased to exist, and there were not wanting signs that the days of that venerable superstition were numbered. At Jehol in Mongolia large quarries were opened for imperial purposes, and, to prevent all misunderstandings, an order was issued by Li Hung Chang that no one should dare to suggest that the disturbance of the earth's surface would in any way affect the *fêngshui* of the neighborhood. In this he was implicitly obeyed, as he had also been in the case of the K'aip'ing railway, and the emperor got his stone without arousing any of that opposition which twenty years ago would, under similar circumstances, have been rampant.

Notwithstanding the emperor's protest in favor of economy, the year 1887 was marked by the preparation of several magnificent court ceremonies. Since the emperor had been declared to be of age, it was necessary that he should think of taking to himself a consort, and under the direction of the dowager empress he arranged to espouse a young lady named Yehonala, the daughter of the empress's brother, General Kweihsiang; and after the manner of the country it was determined that he should also take to himself two concubines, who owned to the youthful ages of thirteen and fifteen. For rather more than a year the emperor was left to enjoy the pleasures of anticipation, and it was not till March, 1889, that the imperial wedding took place. The officials of the Astronomical Board chose, as was their duty, a day which was believed to augur well for the happiness of the young couple, but in a moment of carelessness announced that the usual preparatory worship would be offered two days before, instead of one day before, the ceremony. For this error they were roundly taken to task by the dowager empress, who, being a staunch ceremonialist, decreed that they should suffer severe penalties for their mistake. By an imperial edict the rites and ceremonies which were to be carefully observed consisted of seven parts. First came the sending of presents; then the actual marriage; next the joint worship of their ancestors by the imperial pair; the conferring a patent as empress on the bride; her presentation to the dowager empress; the reception of felicitations; and an imperial banquet.

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[1] Fêngshui, or "wind and water," referring to a system of geomancy.

Honors in commemoration of the event were bestowed on Sir Robert Hart and numberless other officials, while the carriers of the bride's sedan-chair and even the torchbearers who attended upon her received royal largess. With this final assumption of manhood the emperor passed out of the leading strings by which the Empress Tzŭhsi had so long directed his course, and one of the first of his new duties was to prepare a palace for the reception of the ex-regent. The choice of this residence had, as we are told in the *Peking Gazette,* been a subject of long and anxious consideration to the emperor, who, in well-rounded sentences, declared in a decree his anxiety to procure for her Majesty a place of rest and peace after the eighteen wearisome years of administration which had fallen to her lot. In an appreciative edict the empress returned the compliments paid her and took the opportunity of giving utterance to the following excellent advice: "The emperor is now advancing to manhood, and the greatest respect which he can pay to us will be to discipline his own body, to develop his mind, to pay unremitting attention to the administration of the government, and to love his people." From all accounts the young emperor has endeavored to obey these wholesome admonitions, and from the records of his daily life there seems to be very little time left for the enjoyment of the pleasures of existence after he has shown his love for his people by attending to the administration of the empire. The following programme of a by no means uncommon morning's work is enough to justify this assertion. At 2 A. M. he leaves the palace for the Temple of Earth, where he sacrifices to the gods of the five grains. At 4 A. M. he returns to the palace, where he partakes of an early breakfast; and then proceeds to the Temple of the God of Fire, where he burns incense, and, after having offered up the usual prayers, returns to the palace to receive the reports of his ministers and to discuss the affairs of the empire.

The years during which the dowager empress had held the reins of power had been full of difficulties and anxieties, and it says much for her ability that she was able to steer the ship of state in safety through the ruffled waters of the time. The assumption of power by Kwanghsü brought no relief to this strain. Local rebellions immediately broke out in the provinces of Yunnan and Hunan, and among the bordering tribes of Lolos; and though these were successfully suppressed, the peace of the country was for a time seriously disturbed.

During the long minority of the emperor the foreign ministers at Peking had been obliged to forego the right of audience. But, as in the case of T'ungchih, the time had now arrived when they might fairly ask to be received by the " Son of Heaven." Having, however, intimated their desire to appear in the imperial presence they took no actual step to accomplish this end, and without further negotiations the following edict appeared in the *Peking Gazette* of December 12, 1890: " Since the treaties have been made with the various nations letters and dispatches under the seals of the governments have passed to and fro, making complimentary inquiries year by year without intermission. The harmony which has existed has become thus from time to time more and more secure. The ministers of the various powers residing at Peking have abundantly shown their loyal desire to maintain peaceful relations and international friendship. This I cordially recognize, and I rejoice in it. In the first and second months of last year, when there were special reasons for expressing national joy, I received a gracious decree [from the empress dowager] ordering the ministers of the Yamên for Foreign Affairs to entertain the ministers of foreign nations at a banquet. That occasion was a memorable and happy one. I have now been in charge of the government for two years. The ministers of foreign powers ought to be received by me at an audience, and I hereby decree that the audience to be held be in accordance with that of the twelfth year of the reign of T'ungchih [1873]. It is also hereby decreed that a day will be fixed every year for an audience, in order to show my desire to treat with honor all the ministers of foreign powers resident in Peking. . . . The ministers of the Yamên for

Foreign Affairs are hereby ordered to prepare in the first month of the ensuing new year a memorial asking that the time for the audience may be fixed. On the next day the foreign ministers are to be received at a banquet at the Foreign Office. The same is to be done every year in the first month, and the rules will be the same on each occasion. New ministers coming will be received at this annual audience. At all times of national congratulation, when China and the foreign countries give suitable expression to their joy, the ministers of the Foreign Office are to present a memorial asking for the bestowal of a banquet to show the sincere and increasing desire of the imperial government for the maintenance of peace and the best possible relations between China and the foreign states."

The fact that this decree was published spontaneously, and that the terms in which it was dictated evinced a desire for friendly relations, encouraged the foreign ministers to hope that a brighter day was dawning on their relations with the imperial government. These anticipations, however, were not destined to find fulfillment at once. The building named for the ceremony was the same hall dedicated to inferior uses as that in which T'ungchih received the diplomatic body in 1873, and in one respect an act was at this time imposed which formed a distinct relapse from the level reached in 1873. In that year the ministers placed their letters of credence with their own hands on the table in front of the emperor's throne. Now they were expected to hand them to an attendant prince, who, in this respect, acted in their stead. Though this change may appear insignificant to Western minds, it meant much, and it was intended to mean much, to the native onlookers who crowded the outskirts of the hall in an inconvenient and especially indecorous manner. The emperor's reply to the congratulations of his visitors was most cordial, and his manner was then, as it always has been since, as courteous as circumstances permitted. On the whole, however, the audience cannot be said to have come up to what might reasonably have been expected, and the ministers on reviewing their position came to the determination that in future they would rather forego the right of audience than present themselves again in the Tzŭkwang Ko. The result of this decision might have taught them the very useful lesson that if they had previously shown an equally firm front, they need never have submitted to the degradations to which they had been subjected. In the following year both the Austrian minister and, a little later, the British representative, were received by the emperor in the Chêng-Kwang Tien, a building which, though outside the palace, had never been used as a reception hall for envoys from tributary states.

But what diplomacy had failed to accomplish in this matter, political complications brought about without discussion. The war with Japan inclined the Chinese Government to seek for the countenance, if not the support, of the European powers by granting timely concessions, and in November, 1894, the following edict appeared in the *Peking Gazette:* "On Monday last the Emperor gave audience in the Wênhwa Tien to the following ministers: American, Russian, English, French, Belgian, Swedish, and the acting minister for Spain." The hall here mentioned stands within the walls of the Imperial Palace, and thus for the first time an audience was granted in a manner which demonstrated the equality with China of the nations represented. Since then, however, events have marched apace, and foreigners, taking advantage of the weakness of the empire, have occupied strategic positions which until now have been beyond the dreams of their ambition. The attitude of the emperor toward foreign sovereigns reflects this changed position of affairs, and in May, 1890, Prince Henry of Germany was received by the emperor standing, and was even honored by a return visit from the "Son of Heaven."

It is necessary now, in order to preserve the general chronology and sequence of events, to revert to the year 1887. For some time it had been felt by the less bigoted members of the imperial government that use should be made of European science to enable the authorities to place their country in a position of safety. As long ago as 1866 Prince Kung and others had presented a memorial to the throne recommending the study of mathematics for Chinese students, and advising the emperor to found a college at Peking where that and cognate sciences might be taught. The college was established and European professors were appointed. But this reform was in advance of the age, and failed of the success which it had been hoped it might achieve. Twenty-one years later a more practical step was taken in the same direction, and the Tsungli Yamên in 1887 presented a united request to the throne that mathematics should be included in the list of subjects required from students at the competitive examinations. The imperial assent was given to this proposal, and with more or less cordiality, in accordance with the proclivities of the officials of each province, the new subject has been placed side by side with the "Book of Changes" and the "Sayings of Confucius."

No doubt this innovation was eminently distasteful to the general body of *Literati,* whose instincts and interests are bound up in the continuance of the existing condition of things. To these men any concession to foreigners, or any adoption of Western appliances, is hateful, and with one consent large bodies of them banded themselves together to oppose the foreign taint by every means in their power. Of all the provinces in the empire Hunan has, until within the last few years, shown the most determined and implacable distaste for everything European, and in 1891 there proceeded from this hotbed of reactionism a series of vile anti-foreign placards accusing the European missionaries of every crime which disgraces humanity. The prime mover in the publication of these gross libels was a certain Chow Han, who was of official rank and was possessed of considerable scholarship. With the fiercest invective he described how missionaries gouged out the eyes of their converts, and cut out parts of their intestines for medicinal purposes, and how they led astray the unsuspecting natives by their vile arts and evil designs. These placards were profusely illustrated, and every device was employed to cast obloquy both on the missionaries and on the Supreme Being whom they worshiped. It happens that the terms which the Roman Catholics use for God, *T'ienchu,* or "Lord of Heaven," is almost identical in sound with words meaning the "Heavenly Pig," and it suited the fancy of these impious caricaturists to represent the Deity under this infamous disguise. An expression for "Foreigners," *Yangjên,* might, in the same way, be understood to mean "Goat Men," and this play on words was in the same way abundantly made use of by Chow Han and his confederates. On the basis of these slanders, rumors were circulated that children were being kidnaped and vivisected by the missionaries, and, in consequence, as has always happened in China in similar circumstances, the people in their ignorance broke out into riot and disorder. In rapid succession the mob rose at Wuhu, Wuhsueh, Tanyang, Wusieh, Chingkwan, Yangyu, and Kiangyen. Christian churches were demolished, the houses of the missionaries were wrecked and looted, at Ishang an American mission was completely destroyed and at Wuhsueh two British subjects were murdered. In accordance with the invariable precedent in such matters, the representations on the subject made by the British minister to the Tsungli Yamên were met with evasive replies; and the Chinese minister at St. James's was even instructed to suggest to Lord Salisbury that he should check the zeal of Sir John Walsham in pursuing his inquiry into the original sources of the riots. So eminently unsatisfactory was the attitude of the Chinese Government throughout the investigation that the foreign ministers at Peking found themselves compelled to place on record "that no faith could be put in the assurances of the Chinese Government." To this grave assertion Sir John Walsham added: "The charges [against the mandarins] remain unaltered, and the repeated assertions of Chinese agents in foreign countries that the Chinese Government has acted with good faith and energy can be disproved by facts, and are as plausible as the assurances that native officials might now be safely intrusted with the protection of foreigners."

This being the attitude of the Tsungli Yamên, not much could be expected in the way of compensation for the outrages. After long and dreary negotiations certain monetary recompense was granted, but the only official who suffered punishment was the man who at the risk of his life saved English women and children from the fury of the mob! Meanwhile the prime mover in the whole matter, Chow Han, was allowed to remain at large, although the Yamên went through the form of holding an inquiry into his conduct. A commission was appointed to adjudicate upon the charges brought against him, and the result of the investigation amounted to the assertion that he was a wild, erratic creature whose actions were not to be regarded seriously. Without hesitation the Yamên accepted this view, and left the malefactor at liberty to work any further mischief which might be in his power. The one favorable feature in the episode was the edict issued by the emperor in response to a memorial presented by the Yamên on the circumstances connected with the riots. This document ran as follows:

"The propagation of Christianity by foreigners is provided for by treaty, and imperial decrees have been issued to the provincial authorities to protect the missionaries from time to time . . . The doctrine of Christianity has for its purpose the teaching of men to be good. . . . Peace and quiet should reign among the Chinese and missionaries. There are, however, reckless fellows who fabricate stories which have no foundation in fact for the purpose of creating trouble. Villains of this class are not few in number, and are to be found everywhere. The local authorities must protect the lives and property of foreign merchants and missionaries and prevent bad characters from doing them injury. . . . Let this decree be universally promulgated for the information of the people."

After the appearance of this edict matters quieted down for a time in the disturbed district, but a strong anti-foreign feeling still existed, and two years later two Swedish missionaries were murdered at Sungpu, in circumstances which were especially brutal. But the same course of political events which opened the imperial palace to the foreign ministers produced a calm so far as Europeans were concerned in the provinces, and, though outwardly satisfactory, this peaceful situation was in one sense evidence of one of the worst features of the attitude of the Chinese toward foreigners. It has always been contended by those who understand the situation best, that as a rule the anti-foreign riots are made to order, and it is at least eminently noticeable that they never occur when it is to the interest of the government that peace should reign. With the outbreak of the Japanese war it became the interest of the Chinese to seek in every possible way to conciliate the foreign powers, and, therefore, the word went forth that the elements of disorder were to remain quiescent. So long as the war lasted, outrages in China proper ceased completely, and it was not until peace had been signed that mob law again prevailed in parts of the central provinces, more especially in Szech'uan. In the capital of this province every missionary establishment was razed to the ground, and nearly a hundred foreigners were compelled to take refuge in places of safety. A little later in the same year, 1895, a peculiarly savage onslaught was made on the missionary settlement of Hwashan, in the province of Fuhkien. With the ordinary natives in the neighborhood the missionaries were on excellent terms, but it so happened that a local society of vegetarians, for some quite unknown reason, professed deadly enmity to the foreigners. This state of things was perfectly well known to the local authorities, who, however, took no steps to check the evil which they saw to be gathering about them. At early dawn one morning, without any immediate warning, a band of two or three hundred of these miscreants attacked the station, and succeeded in murdering ten foreigners and wounding others, besides destroying the mission premises. This outrage was a shock to the sensibilities of Europe, and so strong were the diplomatic expressions used with regard to it, that the Chinese Government showed a somewhat more complacent demeanor than usual in the conduct of the subsequent inquiries. The murder, in November, 1897, of two German missionaries brought a comparatively new factor into relation with China and called forth action on the part of the German Government which has had enormous consequences. As has so often been said, the Chinese will yield only to force, and it is only by such measures as those Germany has adopted in Shantung and Chihli that the lives and property of Christian missionaries can be preserved from harm. At the same time Germany, practically dominant in both provinces and in possession of Kiaochow, holds the key to northern China. The port of Kiaochow not only is the natural outlet for the trade of northern China, but is the coaling station for the northern Chinese waters. Moreover, as a naval base it has a strategic value and no invasion of the country could ever be attempted, according to the memorandum of the German expert, Lieutenant Colonel Rheinhold Wagner, without the capture of Kiaochow.

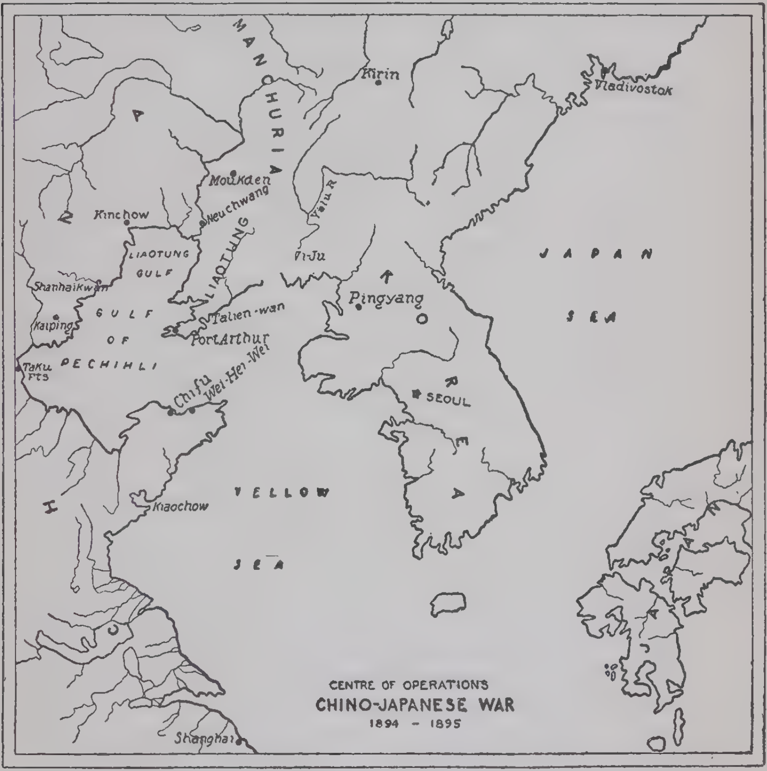
Chapter XIII

THE WAR WITH JAPAN. 1894-1895

KOREAN politics have, as we have seen, constantly formed bones of contention between the Chinese and Japanese governments. The country has been overrun at different periods by the troops of both nations, and with that curious elasticity of obligations common to the extreme East the Korean Government has owned itself a feudatory at one and the same time of both China and Japan. It will be remembered that by the convention signed by Count Ito and Li Hung Chang it was agreed that, in case circumstances arose which demanded the presence of the troops of either country in Korea, each should send notice to the other of her intention to land soldiers. In 1894 such a contingency arose. The *Tong Hak,* or followers of the Eastern Doctrine, rose in revolt primarily against the Roman Catholic converts, but also against the government of the country. A force sent against them from Seoul met with a serious reverse, and in his difficulty the king, in accordance with precedent, appealed to Peking for help.

With the contemptuous disregard for international obligations which distinguishes the Chinese, they in response to the king's appeal landed troops in Korea without, as the Japanese aver, giving any notice of their intention to do so. As a protest against this step the Mikado's government dispatched a *corps d'armée* in all haste to Korea, and thus once again the troops of the two states were brought face to face in a semi-hostile attitude. Neither, however, was inclined to fight, and the Japanese contented themselves with advocating the introduction of reforms into the administration of the country. To this eminently sensible course the Chinese took exception, and warned the Japanese that all questions relating to the reformation of the country should be left in their hands. To this political snub the Japanese submitted, and even made no protest against a further preposterous demand that all men-of-war flying the Mikado's flag should leave the Chinese ports by July 20 following. Though so far compliant, the Japanese warned their opponents that they would consider any further importation of troops into the country as an act of war. They were, however, too well versed in Chinese methods to accept blindly the assurances that were made them on this point, and took the reasonable precaution of sending three cruisers to the gulf of Pechihli to ensure the fulfillment of the understanding. The event proved that this measure was justified, for on the morning of July 25 the Japanese squadron encountered a Chinese transport loaded with troops, and accompanied by two men-of-war, making for the coast of Korea. There could only be one outcome of this breach of faith, and the cruisers on both sides cleared for action. In less than an hour one of the Chinese warships was disabled and beached, and the other steamed off, leaving the transport to be dealt with by the Japanese commander, who signaled to the captain to make for a Japanese port. To this summons the captain explained that he was unable to comply, owing to the attitude of the Chinese soldiers on board, who further prevented him from leaving the ship when he was subsequently warned to do so. In this deadlock the Japanese, after a brief interval, hoisted a red flag and poured a broadside into the transport. The scene which followed was one of helpless terror and alarm, and before any steps could be taken to save the life of a single person on board, the ship went down, carrying with it most of its passengers and crew.

This act led to a declaration of war on both sides, and both powers poured troops into Korea. The first battle was fought in the neighborhood of Asan, a port in the southwest of the peninsula. A Chinese force occupied the town commanded by General Yeh, who no sooner learned of the approach of the Japanese than he marched off with the bulk of his forces to Pingyang, a strongly fortified position to the north of the capital, leaving his rearguard to defend the city. The natural result followed. At the end of a brief skirmish the Japanese took possession of the place, and after having captured the Chinese stores and munitions of war, left a garrison in the forts and marched northward in the pursuit of the fugitive Yeh. At Pingyang Yeh had joined hands with two *corps d'armée* and a force of cavalry which had marched south from Manchuria. The position was naturally a strong one, and if the fortifications had been effectively defended, it might well have withstood any attack that the Japanese could have brought against it. But Yeh was ignorant as well as being a coward, and when General Tso, who was the only brave and capable officer in Korea, urged him to make preparations for the defense of the town he laughed the necessity to scorn. This folly was fatal to the Chinese cause in Korea. From the east, south, and west three Japanese divisions converged on the doomed city. Early on the morning of September 15 the attacking force arrived in position. This was enough for the redoubtable Yeh, who straightway performed another strategic movement by marching his troops out of the north gate of the city, and onward with all haste to the Yalu River, which forms the northern boundary of the kingdom. This evil example was followed by General Wei, and Tso was thus left alone to face the enemy as best he could. He fought well and bravely, dying at the head of his men, over whose bodies the Japanese streamed into the city. It is some satisfaction to know that for this



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gross act of cowardice General Wei was beheaded, and that Yeh, though able by a liberal expenditure of money to keep his head on his shoulders, was confined in the Board of Punishments at Peking.

Before the fate of Pingyang was decided, the Chinese had dispatched a strong force of troops under the convoy of the northern fleet to the Yalu River. There they arrived in safety, and were in the act of landing when, on the morning of September 17, the Japanese fleet hove in sight. The position was one in which Admiral Ting, who commanded the Chinese fleet, could not resist fighting, and he steamed out to meet the enemy, having marshaled his fleet in a V-shaped formation, with two of his most powerful ironclads in the center. In point of numbers the two fleets were equal, twelve ships carrying the nation's flag in each case. Both sides fought with determination, but, as in every engagement during the war, the Chinese were from the first out-maneuvered. The Japanese ships, being faster than those of their opponents, were able to take up the positions which suited them best, and to avoid as far as possible the Chinese guns. In these circumstances the result was a foregone conclusion, and by the end of the day five Chinese ships were sunk and the rest were in full flight. So severe had been the battle that the Japanese ships were unable to follow in pursuit, and seven of the retreating fleet reached Port Arthur in safety.

Meanwhile Marshal Yamagata marched northward from Pingyang, and on October 8 occupied the town of Wiju on the south bank of the Yalu. Korea was now swept clear of Chinese troops, and the Japanese were at liberty to carry the war into Manchuria. Without meeting with any serious opposition Yamagata crossed the Yalu River and joined forces with General Nodzu, who on October 25 gained a signal victory over the Chinese at Hushan. From this point the invaders had almost a march over, and some of the strongest places in southern Manchuria surrendered without striking a blow.

While Nodzu and Yamagata were thus making their triumphal march northward, General Oyama landed in the neighborhood of Kinchow, a city which stands on the narrow neck of land to the northward of Port Arthur. On November 5 and 6 Talienwan and Kinchow opened their gates to the invaders, and Oyama was consequently set free to attack Port Arthur from the land side. The intervening country being very rough and hilly, and the roads bad, the difficulties were of no mean order, but by the 21st of the month the troops were in position to deliver their assault. Here, as elsewhere, the Chinese failed to distinguish themselves for courage, and after some show of resistance, deserted the batteries and escaped along the shore flanking the Japanese troops. The fall of this place was a crushing blow to the Chinese cause. It was the position on which Li Hung Chang had expended vast sums of money, and which had always been regarded as impregnable. To the Japanese, however, the achievement represented only an incident in the war, and with unabated energy Oyama waited only to garrison the captured stronghold, and then marched northward into Manchuria, capturing by the way the cities of Fuchow and K'aipingchow. This series of disasters induced the emperor to listen to the advice tendered by Li Hung Chang that overtures of peace should be made to the enemy, and two futile missions, the first headed by a member of the customs service named Detring, and the second by a mandarin named Chang, were consequently dispatched to deprecate the further advance of the Japanese troops. As neither of these envoys had either plenipotentiary powers or appropriate rank they were promptly sent back to those who had commissioned them. While time was thus wasted the Japanese were repeating at Wei-hai-wei, the one fortress remaining to China, the tactics which had secured the capture of Port Arthur; but here the task was a more difficult one. The Chinese fleet in the harbor was commanded by Admiral Ting, who had fought a good fight in the battle off Yalu River. His back was now against the wall, and he was determined to defend the position to the last. Unhappily his command did not extend to the soldiers, and when he wished to dismantle the outlying forts to prevent the Japanese from taking them, and turning their guns on the fortress as they had done at Port Arthur, the soldiers refused to carry out his instructions. The result was exactly as he had foreseen. Without much difficulty the Japanese made themselves masters of the outer lines, and brought the captured artillery to bear on the town; but Ting still held the citadel and the fleet, and, from these standpoints, offered a determined resistance to the enemy. It was obvious, however, that in the end the Japanese must secure the prize, and when this became apparent beyond question Ting made final arrangements with Admiral Ito for the surrender of the town and fleet on February 7. Having agreed to the necessary conditions, and having secured the lives and freedom of his men, Ting committed suicide, an example which was followed by his second and third in command. It is gratifying to know that Admiral Ito did honor to his late gallant opponent by detaching a captured Chinese man-of-war to carry the admiral's remains to Chifu. This final disaster brought home to the emperor and his advisers the inevitable conclusion that if any remnant of sovereignty was to be left to them, they must at once make peace with the enemy. It also emphasized the lesson which they were beginning to learn, that it was useless to try to impose any more *pseudo* plenipotentiaries on Japan, and in this dilemma the emperor turned to the one man who, from his rank and abilities, was clearly marked out as a fit and proper person to represent the empire in its present straits. With the patriotism of the kind which has always distinguished him, Li Hung Chang at once undertook the mission at the bidding of his sovereign; and after some delay, due to his efforts to gain European support against any demand on the part of Japan for territorial acquisitions on the mainland, he for the first time in his life landed on a foreign shore.

In the negotiations which followed, Li first attempted to secure an armistice during the discussion of the terms of peace. To this the Japanese made no objection on the conditions that the Taku forts, Shanhaikwan, and the railway to Tientsin should be handed over to the Japanese generals. As the fulfillment of these terms would entail the virtual command of Peking from the coast, Li declined to accept them, and the plenipotentiaries therefore proceeded at once to arrange the terms of a permanent treaty. With the exception of the regrettable incident of the wound inflicted on Li by a crazy would-be assassin, the discussion proceeded favorably, and on April 17, 1895, the treaty of peace was signed. By the terms of this document the Liaotung peninsula (including Port Arthur), Formosa, and the Pescadores were ceded to the conquerors, and an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels was exacted for the expenses of the war.

Although a strong party in Peking were opposed to the ratification of this humiliating treaty, the emperor gave his approval to it, and on May 8 the ratifications were exchanged at Chifu. But though China had thus pledged her honor to the terms demanded, a strong appeal was made to the European powers to intervene on her behalf. This entreaty was partially successful, and the combined governments of Russia, Germany, and France were induced to remonstrate so strongly and persistently against the cession of Liaotung that the Japanese thought it wise to restore the peninsula to their conquered foe.

The disorder and uncertainty which had overclouded the empire during the continuance of the war seriously interfered with one of those national rejoicings which appeal with especial force to the Chinese mind. In 1895 the dowager empress completed her sixtieth year, and as such an event is of rare occurrence among members of the imperial family, it was early marked out to be the subject of a grand national rejoicing. With that respect for precedent which so distinguishes the backward-looking intellect of the celestials, the officials of the board of ceremonies searched in the records for the occurrence of a similar event in the annals of the dynasty. Their researches were rewarded by finding that during the reign of the emperor Ch'ienlung the dowager empress had reached the venerable age of eighty, and that on that occasion, in addition to numberless ceremonies, the emperor on horseback had escorted her sedan-chair from her residence to the palace, where, dressed in a fantastic garb, he had danced and gesticulated before his aged parent. It is needless to say that this device was not original, but was carried out in imitation of one of the twenty-four national models of filial piety, who at the age of seventy dressed himself up as a child and frolicked before his parents in order to cheat them into the belief that they were still untouched by age. The more sedate part of the ceremonial was loyally adopted by the emperor, who, however, with some show of wisdom, declined to disport himself in the motley proposed.

But though the government was able occasionally to divert its attention from the necessities of the hour by this and other pageants, it was soon called upon again to consider the difficulties which had arisen from the war. The three European powers which had posed as friends in need soon made it plain that they required a *quid pro quo* for their intervention in the matter of the Liaotung peninsula. In this regard Russia was first in the field and demanded the right of carrying the Siberian railway through Manchuria to Vladivostok with a branch line to Kirin, Mukden and Port Arthur. France followed next and claimed that the Chinese should meet the Tonking railway at the frontier and continue it as far as Nanning Fu, in the province of Kwangsi. Germany was for the moment less ambitious and was satified with asking for certain mining and financial privileges. To these several exactions China was in no position to return a negative answer, and indeed her position since the war has been one of limp impotence without any guiding principle to direct her policy, or the slightest vestige of power to uphold her rights. One of her chief needs throughout has been that of money with which to pay off the indemnity due to Japan, and being completely helpless so far as her own resources were concerned, she appealed to England for assistance. Lord Salisbury, acting on the traditional policy of his country toward China, was willing to arrange a loan to the amount of sixty million dollars, and negotiations were under way when Russia intervened, and protested so vehemently against the proceedings that the terrorized Chinese begged to be allowed to withdraw from their bargain. They had, however, sufficient sense to decline a loan proffered from St. Petersburg, and eventually the money was borrowed, with $20,000,000 in addition, from the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, with the assistance of a German bank. But worse difficulties were still in store for the distracted country. In an ill moment a native mob rose against a German missionary establishment in Shantung and murdered two of the priests. This incident supplied the excuse wanted by Germany for obtaining a substantial hold on the country, and, without notice, the admiral on the station steamed into Kiaochow Bay in the incriminated province, and took forcible possession of the harbor and its surroundings. It was only necessary for the Germans to say that they were there, and intended staying, to make the Chinese acquiesce, however unwillingly, in the arrangement. The example thus set was speedily followed. Russia demanded a lease of Port Arthur and Talienwan on the same terms as that granted to the Germans at Kiaochow, and as a counterblast to this last move Sir Claud Macdonald was instructed to ask for a lease of Wei-hai-wei so soon as the Japanese, who had been holding it as security for the payment of the indemnity, should have rendered it again to China. Later still France, not to be behindhand, has taken possession of Kwangchow Bay on the Lienchow peninsula in Kwangtung. The danger of this system of seizing at will ports along the coast soon became sufficiently obvious even to the

Chinese, and in their own defense they readily listened to the proposals of Sir Claud Macdonald to open three more ports, Yochow on the Tungt'ing Lake, Funing Fu on the coast of Fuhkien, and Chinwang in the Gulf of Liaotung, to which, on their own motion, they added Wusung, near Shanghai. In addition to these new trade centers, three ports on the west river of Canton had already been declared open in compensation for the British Shan territory of Kiang Hung, which by a breach of treaty had been alienated to France.

The policy of throwing open the whole coast line to trade is the only one which will secure the empire against the attack of grasping powers. By the favored nation clause no power can acquire any rights at the treaty ports which are not shared by all the signatories. Any attempt, therefore, to grasp at exclusive privileges on the part of any one nation would be met by the united opposition of the rest of their number, and in the present helpless condition of the state, and the known greed of various governments, this is the only sure and certain means of defense that the empire possesses.

It is, as it always has been, the true policy of England to look to China for commercial privileges rather than for territorial gain, and, with the exception of the lease of Wei-hai-wei, in 1898, every move on her part has been in the direction of opening the country to the traffic of the world. It was in this spirit that in recognition of her share in the new loan she urged the Chinese government to open the inland waters to steam navigation; and to undertake that on no conditions should the valley of the Yangtsze-kiang be alienated to any foreign power. These terms have been agreed to, and additional conditions have been framed, by which it is arranged that so long as British trade is predominant in China Sir Robert Hart's successors shall be British subjects, and that the collection of the Likin[1] tax at the ports of Soochow and Kiukiang, with the districts of Sunghu and Eastern Chehkiang, as well as the salt Likin of Ichang, and of the districts of Hupeh and Anhui, shall be placed forthwith under the control of the inspector-general of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs. It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of this last condition. It is a blow at that corruption which has hitherto made progress in China next to impossible, which has prevented the construction of railways, which has hide-bound the trade of the country, and which has made the army and navy of the empire the laughing-stock of the world. If once the political administration of the provinces could be placed on a sound and honest basis, the progressive leaven which, though small, does exist in the country, could gain life and energy, and China might yet succeed in occupying the position in the world to which her teeming population, her immense wealth, and the industry of her people justly entitle her.

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[1] An inland tax, well known from being imposed on foreign goods in transit.

Chapter XIV

REFORMS, REACTION, AND THE BOXER REBELLION

1895-1900

THE Japanese war worked a revolution in many Chinese ideas, until then regarded as fixed and immutable and as a matter of sequence events of grave import have occurred in China, affecting not only Europe, but the whole civilized world.

One of the first effects of the war was to promote industrial enterprises, and in response to a certain amount of encouragement, foreign syndicates swooped down on the country, demanding concessions for making railways, working mines, and developing the resources of the soil. These were readily granted by the emperor under the advice of officials who were enlightened enough to see that such works would confer great and lasting benefits on the empire at large. In this way the right of working the immense coal-mines of Shansi was given to one company; to another was granted the privilege of making a trunk line of railway from Peking to Canton; while to others were given rights to dig and to delve in many of the provinces of the empire.

These privileges were granted mainly with the view of improving the financial position of the empire, a subject which was occupying the very serious attention of the emperor and his advisers. The national revenue was recognized as being barely sufficient to meet the demands arising from the foreign debts and the necessary expenditure of the empire, and it was felt that any extra strain would tax the resources beyond the breaking point. In this emergency the emperor issued an edict ordering the provincial magnates to recommend to the throne all those whose counsel might be of service to the state. The result of this appeal proved to be a momentous one. Among the men so recommended was K'ang Yuwei, who had already distinguished himself as an ardent advocate of reform, and as one holding marked and independent views. It was at his initiative that a number of scholars, at the conclusion of the Japanese war, memorialized the throne, advocating measures for placing the empire in such a position as would make the recurrence of a similar crushing defeat impossible, and in his published works he was notorious for having criticized the views of the ancient sages with an unsparing pen.

K'ang's sponsor was the celebrated Wêng T'ungho, who had been tutor to the emperor, and who certainly was not credited with any undue leaning toward reform. His credentials, therefore, were all that could be desired from a Chinese point of view, and after a preliminary interview with the Tsungli Yamên, in which he failed to make any impression on the officials, he was introduced into the imperial presence. From this moment his influence over the emperor became supreme, and he was admitted daily into the imperial apartments, where, in the absence of all formalities, he was allowed to expound his views on the reforms which he considered necessary for the rehabilitation of the empire.

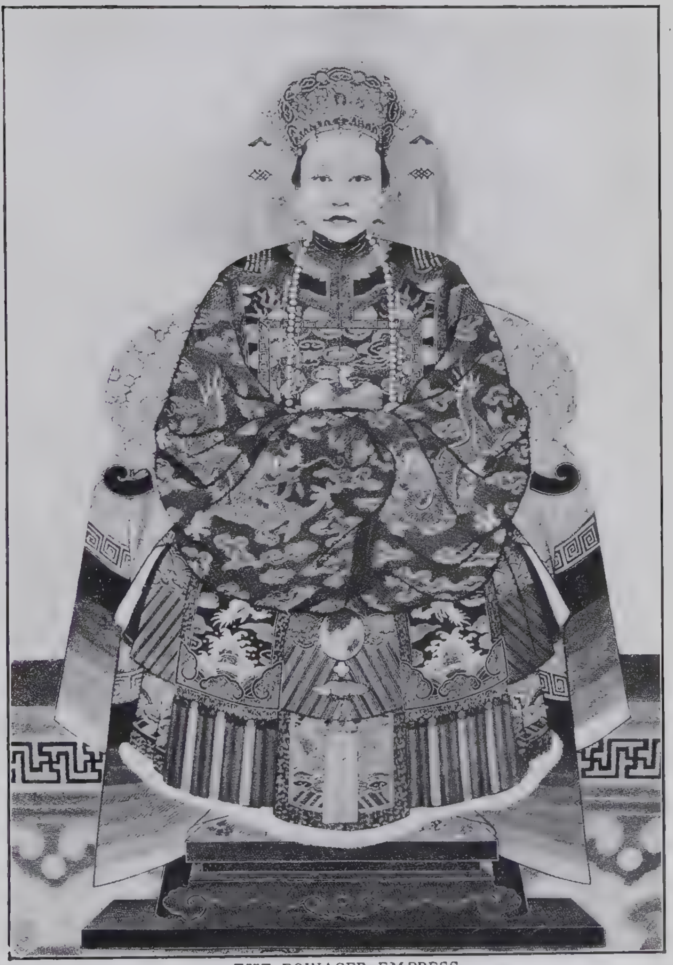
Unfortunately, like many inexperienced reformers, K'ang proposed to cure all the existing political ills by immediate and drastic measures—for which, however, the country was by no means prepared, and of which he had failed to count the cost. Among many other proposals it was suggested that a central board of mining and railway operations should be formed; that committees should be named to superintend the establishment of new schools and colleges in the provinces; that full liberty should be granted to the press, "in order to enlighten those in authority and to tear off the veil which hides in obscurity the misgovernment of officials"; and that it should be lawful for anyone to memorialize the throne. Unhappily for the empire, the emperor had at this time been deprived of the services of a counselor whose advice might have saved him from the pitfalls into which he was destined to stumble. On May 3, 1898, Prince Kung died, and with him passed away a moderating influence which would have been of inestimable value in guiding the affairs of state during the troublous times which were to follow. Prince Kung, who first appeared on the political stage during the war of 1860, had a clearer insight into political matters than most of his colleagues, and throughout his career the weight of his counsels in all matters in dispute was commonly thrown on the side of conciliation and peace. Deprived of the advice of this statesman, to whom he had been accustomed to look for help, the emperor resigned himself entirely to the guidance of K'ang Yuwei, and gave his imperial sanction to the crude proposals of that enthusiast.

The result of this too whole-hearted confidence speedily became apparent. Acting on the permission granted by edict, a junior member of the board of rites presented to his Manchu superiors a memorial with the request that it might be forwarded to the throne. In their wisdom, the president and vice-president of the board declined the request on the ground that the memorial contained revolutionary ideas, and further recommended the emperor to cashier the hot-headed official. But the emperor was just then in one of his most reforming moods, and, instead of accepting the advice tendered, dismissed the advisers for having acted in defiance of his express command. The summary dismissal of these high officials created a great stir in political circles, and gave the dowager empress the excuse for intervening for which she had long been looking. What domestic steps she took to upset the emperor's authority will probably never be fully known, an impenetrable veil being drawn over all that goes on within the vermilion walls of the palace. But on September 21, 1898, there appeared an edict in the *Peking Gazette* in which the emperor was made to say: "Our empire is now laboring under great difficulties, and . . . this brought us to the thought that her Majesty the dowager empress . . . had since the reign of the late Emperor T'ungchih twice held the regency with much success, and that although the empire was then also laboring under great difficulties she always issued triumphant and successful when grappling with critical questions. Now, we consider the safety of the empire handed down to us . . . above all things else; hence, under the critical conditions of things now pending, we have thrice petitioned her Majesty graciously to accede to our prayer and personally to give us the benefit of her wise instructions in the government of the empire. She has, fortunately for the prosperity of the officials and people of the empire, granted our request, and from to-day onward her Majesty will conduct the affairs of state in the ordinary throne room."

The effect of this change was great and instantaneous. The dismissed officials were reinstated in office, the temples and monasteries which had been converted into schools and colleges were restored to their original purposes, the consideration of a national parliament was dismissed to the Chinese equivalent of the Greek Kalends, the idea of changing the national dress was peremptorily vetoed, and the house which the emperor had tried to sweep and garnish became inhabited by spirits more perversely reactionary than those which had originally found their homes there.

With vindictive cruelty the triumphant dowager ordered six of the prominent reformers to execution without any form of trial, and K'ang himself only escaped death by a precipitate flight, taken at the urgent instance of the emperor. This imperial return to a reactionary policy was speedily reflected in the provinces, where everyone who was in office, or who was discontented at not being so, gathered to the new *régime,* and entered heart and soul into a war against all reforms, and against anything which could be supposed to emanate from the hated foreigners. The results of this attitude showed themselves in many ways and in numerous directions. Missionary establishments were attacked, travelers were assaulted, and no opportunity was missed of pouring contempt and odium on the "foreign devils." Whether in the metropolitan province of Chihli, the districts of Shantung, or the outlying territories of Yunnan, the attitude of the people was the same, and it soon became obvious that, unless a change were brought about, a state of tension would arise which would make the preservation of peace a matter of doubt and difficulty.

The advisers whom the empress had called to her counsels were naturally those who took her view of politics, though not all were actuated by the same degree of hatred of reforms and foreigners. Prince Ching, an uncle of the emperor, and Yunglu, the generalissimo of the Peking forces, were men of comparatively moderate views, while K'ang-yi and Tung Fuhsiang were pronounced irreconcilables. It was K'ang-yi who had persuaded the empress to order the execution of the six reformers, and who, with indecent triumph, himself carried the fatal warrant to the court where the trial was about to be held. After that event the influence of this man was observable throughout. It was at his instigation that most of the hostile edicts were issued, and though the voice was the empress's voice the words were those of K'ang-yi. In his earlier days, K'ang-yi had made proposals for improving the finances of the empire, and as money was still an urgent requirement this self-constituted chancellor of the exchequer was commissioned to visit the richest provinces of the empire for the purpose of extracting the uttermost farthing that it was possible to wring from the people. A certain amount of success attended his efforts, more especially in that Eldorado of China, the two Kwang provinces,



THE DOWAGER EMPRESS

Photograph from life

1899

where he succeeded in adding a considerable sum to the annual revenue paid into the treasury of Peking. But his presence was distasteful to the great viceroys on the Yangtszekiang, and his threatening manner, which earned for him the title of "the great extortioner," outraged their sense of the respect due to their positions. It is not unlikely that the anti-Boxer attitude of these viceroys may partly be accounted for by ill will created by Kang-i's visits. But, whatever influence his presence in the provinces may have effected, his absence from Peking exercised a temporary moderating bias on the policy of the dowager empress. Under the wiser influence of Prince Ching and Yunglu her views softened as regards the vexed questions of foreign policy, and matters went well with the legations and the Tsungli Yamên. The lull, however, was only for a short time. With the return of Kang-i to Peking and the advent on the scene of the truculent Tung Fuhsiang, the anti-foreign spirit broke out again with renewed vigor, and ominous rumors became rife that a secret scheme was afoot for crushing the foreigners in the country, and for wresting back the territories leased to the powers. With a strange blindness, these rumors were entirely disregarded, and the foreign ministers scarcely thought them worthy of being reported to their governments. Begotten by ignorance, and wild in its conception, the scheme was yet well worthy of attention. A large army had been collected at Peking, consisting of 72,000 men under the command of Prince Tuan, the father of the heir-apparent to the throne, Tung Fuhsiang, K'ang-yi, Li Pinghêng, formerly governor of Shantung, and others. These troops were all well armed, and drilled sufficiently to give them an organization, and it was with this "Army of Avengers" that the dowager empress designed to rid the country once and for all of the hated presence of foreigners.

Many matters had, however, to be considered. There had for some time been repeated signs of revolutionary movements in some of the provinces, notably in Kwangtung, and it was felt that a strong hand was needed here so as to leave the confederates free to carry out their plot in the north. Li Hung Chang was consequently appointed viceroy of the two Kwang provinces, and was given full power to carry out any measures which he might deem advisable. This post the veteran statesman willingly accepted, being doubtless glad to be out of the way when the storm burst, for if his long experience had taught him anything, it had taught him that it is futile to expect Chinese soldiers to contend successfully against the troops of Europe. Further, an excuse was needed to set fire to the train which had been so carefully laid. The Chinese have no notion of declaring war on a question of policy. They prefer the more subtle method of instigating banditti to attack the foreign settlements, in the hope that in the consequent confusion they may find their opportunity. This plan has the advantage of enabling them in event of defeat to disavow the onslaught as the act of rebels whom the imperial government would be only too glad to see punished for their offenses. It is also easy. There are always associations, secret and otherwise, which are ready and willing to plunder their neighbors' goods at the instigation of those in authority. On this occasion the lot fell on the " Boxers," or " Fists of righteous harmony," as the Chinese designation signifies, and with alacrity the members obeyed the call. Associations with similar titles have long existed in China, and they differ from the Triad and more dangerous societies in that they have always professed fervent loyalty to the reigning dynasty. The Boxers were, therefore, a fit instrument for the empress's use, and after making full and exhaustive inquiries as to their numbers, equipment, and the sincerity of their profession, she determined to employ them. At this time she issued two edicts which marked with unerring distinction the parting of the ways. In one she impressed on the local officials the necessity of treating the Boxers with exceptional consideration as being a loyal confederation which deserved well of the country, and in the other she gave the provincial viceroys authority to declare war on their own initiative against foreigners, adding strict injunctions that they were to oppose at any cost the least encroachment on the part of the " Foreign Devils."

The effect of the first of these documents was exactly what was anticipated. Crowds flocked to the banners of the Boxers, who emphasized their mission by attacking isolated and defenseless Christian communities in their neighborhood. As their numbers multiplied their courage increased, and being no longer content to plunder and ravish in the outlying province of Shantung they took heart of grace and marched northward to the neighborhood of Peking. This move was probably undertaken by order. At least it was well calculated to bring about the state of things desired by the empress. Her own troops were quite prepared to carry out their part in the scheme and, under the congenial leadership of

1900

Prince Tuan and K'ang-yi, marched out to meet the Boxers—nominally as foes, but in reality as allies. Without crossing swords or firing a shot, the two forces amalgamated, an event which boded ill to the foreign communities at Tientsin and Peking. Badly armed and quite unorganized, the Boxers by themselves were powerless to do more than raid and plunder, but the accession to their ranks of the large and well-equipped imperial force gave an entirely new complexion to the movement, and converted a mob into an army. The effect of this change instantly became apparent. Instead of sporadic attacks on isolated posts, a plan of campaign was adopted, and strong positions in the country between Peking and Taku were occupied by the troops, supported by their irregular allies. Tientsin was invested, the railway between that place and Peking was occupied, and an attempt was made to pour large reinforcements into the Taku forts at the mouth of the river. Fortunately, this last maneuver, together with a plan for placing mines in the river, was forestalled by the admirals of the Allied Powers, who promptly presented an ultimatum to the commander of the forts to the effect that any such action would be regarded as an act of war. Twenty-four hours were allowed the commandant for his answer. It came one hour short of the allotted time. At one o'clock on the morning of June 18—Waterloo day—the forts opened fire on the allied fleets. For seven hours the battle raged, and at the end of that time the forts were silenced, and a detachment of sailors which had been landed carried the position by assault.

War was now practically declared, and the Allied admirals organized a force in the field. At the head of two thousand men Admiral Seymour marched on Tientsin, and, having entered that city, started northward to relieve the beleaguered ministers at Peking. In this he was unsuccessful, and after some severe fighting was obliged to retire. Meanwhile, a second force occupied Tientsin, which was again closely invested by the Chinese, and it was only by the arrival of a strong reinforcement that the city was relieved from the pressure of the enemy on June 23. After a few hours' rest, a portion of the relieving force advanced to the assistance of Admiral Seymour, and, having effected a junction with him, returned in his company to Tientsin.

Meanwhile, events had been marching apace within the walls of Peking. On June 16 the dowager empress called together a council, at which she personally presided, and which she opened with these ominous words: "The foreign powers have browbeaten and persecuted us in such a manner that we cannot endure it any longer. We must therefore combine to fight all foreigners to the last, to save our 'face' in the eyes of the world. All our Manchu princes, dukes, nobles, and ministers, high and low, are unanimous in the determination of war to the knife, and I approve of their patriotic choice. I therefore give you all this announcement, and expect all to do their duty to their country." This truculent address gave the keynote to the council, where, however, at first, the Chinese members attempted to stem the current of Manchu hatred. But the decree had gone forth, and after some debate, in which the emperor took part, always on the side of peaceful measures, it was determined to support the Boxers with imperial troops in their war against foreigners. Four days later, June 20, Baron von Ketteler, the German minister, was murdered in the streets of Peking when on his way to visit the Tsungli Yamên. This act, which was the direct outcome of the council of the 16th, was speedily followed up by still more violent measures. On the 21st a decree was issued ordering Yunglu, as generalissimo of the grand army of the north, to enter Peking and formally to attack the legations. Against this step the emperor protested on his knees, but his advice was ignored, and the command was issued and obeyed.

Two Chinese ministers, Hsü and Yüan, who had strenuously resisted the warlike policy of the empress, were at this time, and for no other offense, beheaded without trial, and a reign of terror ensued. Edicts appeared in quick succession ordering the indiscriminate massacre of all foreigners in the country, and in many parts every effort was made to carry out this bloodthirsty decree. In Shansi, the governor, Yü Hsien, who was an extreme reactionary, collected as many missionaries and others as were within reach, and set an example to his executioners by cutting down a number of victims with his own hand. But there were some conspicuous exceptions. The two great viceroys on the Yangtszekiang, Chang Chihtung and Liu Kaunzi, together with Tuanfang, the Manchu governor of Shensi, took upon themselves the responsibility of disobeying the decree. And not only so, but they directed their subordinates to protect and befriend all foreigners residing in their districts. The result of this humane and independent conduct was that not a single foreigner lost his life in the five provinces under the control of these true patriots.

The siege of the legations was now formally entered upon. Barricades were thrown up on the city walls and in the streets, and a close *cordon* was drawn round the legation area. Guns were mounted, and riflemen occupied every position from which they could attack and harass the besieged. Meanwhile, the foreigners, with the assistance of several hundred native Christians, whose admission within the walls had been at first discountenanced by the British minister, threw up hasty defenses, and armed themselves with every weapon obtainable. The center of this defense was the British legation, which was the largest foreign residence in the capital and which was manned by the greatest number of defenders. For nearly two months this and the other buildings were subjected to a constant fire of guns and rifles, and the only marvel is that one stone was left standing on another, or that a single occupant should have survived. If the Chinese troops had brought into action all the guns at their disposal, or if they had assaulted the defenses they must have destroyed the garrison. But throughout the siege some power appeared to be holding them back. It was observed that on several occasions when the Chinese gunners succeeded in getting the effective range and direction they withdrew the gun or guns; and while they brought into action only weapons of a comparatively antiquated pattern, it was discovered after the siege was over that they were in possession of a large supply of guns of the newest and most approved design. There was plainly displayed a desire not to carry the attack to extremities lest the government should be placed beyond the reach of repentance. The destruction wrought, however, by the hostilities was extensive and thorough. Fire, the great enemy on such occasions, carried havoc through the streets. Whole districts were destroyed by flames, and some of the richest parts of the city were laid desolate. The great danger which beset the British and the other legations was that the surrounding flames should spread to their buildings, and for the sake of protection it became necessary in many cases to destroy the neighboring houses. Close to the wall of the British legation stood the Hanlin college, the most venerable home of literature in the empire, and the depository of a priceless collection of books and manuscripts. Its proximity, however, constituted a danger, and a proposal, in the interest of the legation, was made to demolish it. This, in view of its great antiquity, the British minister could not bring himself to sanction. But he might have spared his scruples, for a few days later the Chinese deliberately set fire to its ancient halls and library. In a few hours the destruction was complete, and nothing remained of its contents but a few volumes, which were saved by the exertion of members of the legation.

During the siege many attempts were made to induce the foreign ministers and their staffs to leave their entrenchments. They were invited to take refuge in the Tsungli Yamên, where, they were assured, they would be perfectly safe; at another time an ultimatum was presented to them, ordering them to leave the capital within twenty-four hours; and later an imperial edict was published, offering them a safe conduct to Tientsin. Happily, they refused to yield to these threats and inducements, and preferred to defend the walls of the legations rather than trust themselves to the tender mercies of the Chinese. One of the most infamous features of the crisis was that at the very time when this attack on the foreign position was being most actively pressed Lo Fêngluh was assuring Lord Salisbury that the Chinese Government was "giving effective protection to the British legation"; and Wu Ting Fang was making similar protestations at Washington. So close were the besieging lines held that for many weeks no communication passed between the legations and the outer world, and it was not until the 10th of August that definite news of the approach of the cosmopolitan relief expedition reached the beleaguered garrison. This news was speedily verified, and on August 14 the troops entered the city. "We knew," writes Mr. Stanley Smith, one of the besieged, "that the allies would advance in separate columns, and we were on the *qui vive* of excitement, knowing that any moment now the troops might arrive. Luncheon, the hard luncheon of horseflesh, came on, and we had just finished when the cry rang through the legations, 'The British are coming!' and there was a rush to the entrance and up Canal Street toward the water gate. The stalwart forms of the general and his staff were entering by the water gate, followed by the 1st regiment of Sikhs and the 7th Rajputs. They passed down Canal Street, and amid a scene of indescribable emotion marched to the British legation. The siege had been raised."

With the cessation of hostilities began the far more difficult task of arranging terms of peace. The indignation of the whole civilized world had been aroused at the atrocities which had been committed on the persons and property of foreigners. Besides those who had lost their lives in the course of the campaign, it was brought to light that two hundred and forty men, women, and children in the interior of the country had been massacred under circumstances of great brutality, and that the same fate had overtaken no fewer than 30,000 native Christians. In no way did the Chinese Government show that it realized the heinousness of the offenses of which its agents had been guilty, and with a light heart it expressed desire for a return to the former friendly relations which had existed. Prince Ching and Li Hung Chang were appointed plenipotentiaries, and were ordered to proceed at once to the conclusion of terms of peace.

Meanwhile, the court had fled to Hsian Fu, in the province of Shansi, and the foreign plenipotentiaries found their task of arranging suitable terms of peace much complicated by the desertion of his capital by the emperor. To the Chinese request for a speedy conclusion of a convention, the foreign ministers replied by insisting on the infliction of suitable punishments on those officials who had been responsible for the Boxer outbreak and the consequent outrages, as a preliminary to all negotiations. This was conceded, and it was arranged that Prince Tuan, Duke Lan, and General Tung Fuhsiang should be sentenced to decapitation, it being understood that these sentences would be commuted to banishment for life; that Prince Chuang and two others were to be strangled; that Ch'ihsiu and Hsü Ch'êngyü were to be beheaded at Peking; and that Yü Hsien was to suffer the same fate. Besides these officials, several others in the provinces were executed for their offenses.

This matter having been conceded on December 21 and 22, 1900, the following conditions were further formulated in a joint note by the foreign ministers: (1) That an indemnity should be paid; (2) that the Taku forts should be dismantled; (3) that a monument should be set up to Baron von Ketteler on the spot where the German minister had been assassinated; (4) that stone tablets should be erected wherever missionaries had been murdered; (5) that the importation of arms into the country should be prohibited; (6) that the legation guards should be strengthened, and permanent troops established to keep open the road to Tientsin; (7) that the Tsungli Yamên should be abolished; and (8) that the ministers should have direct access to the emperor. These terms provoked considerable discussion, and differences of opinion were expressed on the points raised among some of the foreign negotiators. But the feeling of unanimity was in the main marred only by the representative of Russia. That power had, since the occupation of Port Arthur, been steadily strengthening her position in Manchuria, and in return for her good offices at the council board at Peking the Chinese plenipotentiaries agreed to give her practically a free hand in that dependency. They even went the length of acceding to the terms of a convention by which the whole administration of the country was to be transferred to the representatives of the Czar. Happily, the publication in the London *Times* of this document aroused the susceptibilities of the other treaty powers, and as the result of their urgent remonstrances the emperor finally declined to sign the agreement.

On December 4, 1900, the ministers met in conference and agreed to various amendments in the terms of the "Conjoint Note" proposed by the American minister. The term "death penalty" as demanded for the guilty Chinese officials was made to read "the most severe punishment befitting their crimes." Discussion and delays on other points arose, but on December 24 the note was signed and presented to Prince Ching. The conditions were accepted and signed by Prince Ching and Li Hung Chang, and on January 14, 1901, the peace protocol was signed at Peking.

The indemnity was fixed at 450,000,000 of Hai-kuan taels[1] and stipulations also provided for the razing of the Taku forts and others that might impede free communication between Peking and the sea. Article IX of the treaty provided for the right of occupancy by the powers of points affording means of access between the capital and the coast.

Thus by the satisfactory compliance with the conditions laid down in the note of December 22, 1900, was terminated the international complication created by the Boxer Rebellion. Since then, evidences are not wanting to show that there is growing up, even at the Court, a recognition of the necessity for reforms. Imperial edicts have been published, sanctioning progressive measures, and a strong feeling exists in the country that it is only by the adoption of European ideas and western methods of administration that China can be saved from ruin and decay.

[1] A Hai-kuan tael is estimated equivalent to 0.742 (gold) dollar.

LATE EVENTS AND PRESENT CONDITIONS

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Chapter XV

THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF 1898

FOR ten or fifteen years before 1900 many of the younger and more enterprising Chinese, especially some of those who from their studies abroad had learned something of Western progress, had reached the conclusion that the Chinese Government ought to adopt more liberal ideas and that Western learning should be given a greater place in the education of the Chinese. Even the young emperor had come into touch with these proposals, and, with an eagerness scarcely to be expected from one in his position, he determined to familiarize himself with this new learning. Eunuchs were sent from the palace to the missionary bookstores in Peking, and many books in the English language as well as others in Chinese which gave an account of the new learning were purchased for the emperor's personal use, especially the books published by the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese. Even copies of the Bible were purchased, and it was well known that the emperor was making an earnest effort to study the tenets of the Christian religion. It was even rumored that he wished to become a Christian. Realizing also that the best works were not to be found in the Chinese language, he undertook the study of English under the instruction of two Chinese who had been pupils of Dr. W. A. P. Martin at the Imperial University, though as they did not venture to correct his mistakes and knelt as they taught him, his progress may well have been slow.

After he had formally taken charge of the government of the empire, he wished to put these reform ideas into effect; but, trained

NOTE: In the preparation of these chapters special use has been made of "Europe and the Far East," by Robert K. Douglas, the author of this history; "China in Convulsion," by Arthur H. Smith; "China Under the Searchlight," by William A. Cornaby; and "China and Her People," by Charles Denby. The opinions expressed regarding present conditions and tendencies come largely from conversations and correspondence with many people, Chinese and foreigners, who have been long familiar with China and her people.

as he had been in the palace, surrounded with courtiers, accustomed to believe that his will was law, with comparatively little knowledge of the outside world, with no experience which would lead him to see the futility of attempting to reform off-hand by decree the manners and customs of a great people like the Chinese, he naturally attempted more than was wise. He gathered about him a small group of advisers, in some instances men rather of noble intentions than of mature discretion, and began promptly his reform work. K'ang Yuwei, who had secured the title at Canton of the "modern sage and reformer," had made himself so well known by his publications and discussions that his fame had reached the capital. Some of the men in the palace, especially the emperor's old tutor, had become convinced of the wisdom of his proposals, and through their influence his recommendations were brought to the notice of the emperor. K'ang was sent for to appear before the emperor and explain his views, although as a precautionary and preliminary measure, the old board of foreign affairs, the Tsungli Yamên, had first a conference with him in which he explained his views in some detail. Many of the members of the government were convinced of the wisdom of his plans; but both Yunglu, a reactionary but ambitious Manchu who later came to the head of the Boxer movement, and also Prince Kung, the wise uncle of the emperor, who had for many years represented the best elements of conservative progress in the empire, opposed the rapid adoption of the measures proposed on the ground that the empire was not yet ready for such sweeping changes and that progress must be slow. Against the advice of the prince, however, the emperor issued one after the other a number of decrees which were practically revolutionary in their tendency.

In the first place, as was natural, the emperor had been greatly humiliated by the result of the war with Japan and had reached the conclusion, in which even the prince joined, that China must establish a military system which would give her in the near future an army which would prevent the further aggressions of any of the powers.

With the reform of the military system was to go also the reform of education. The emperor had become convinced that the time-honored system of education in the Chinese classics was without solid foundation for modern use. He called attention to the difference between the practical methods of Western countries

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and the antiquated methods of China; to the great wealth and military strength which had been the result of Western methods of training as compared with the weakness and impractical work of the Chinese, and ordered the adoption of the Western organization of the army, the adoption of Western arms, and the training of the army under foreign instructors after Western models. Furthermore, he ordered the establishment of schools from the elementary grades through college courses, similar to those found in foreign countries; all of this with the thought that through the new education would come increased wealth and power for China which would carry her far on the path of progress.

Under the advice of K'ang Yuwei the literary essay was abolished as the basis of the examinations for study in the civil service; the officials were rebuked for not building more promptly the railway lines already projected; and the government was ordered to provide for the establishment of a bureau of agriculture, and for a system of copyright and patent laws. The Imperial University was reorganized with Dr. Martin at the head of the faculty. There was established at Shanghai a translation bureau for putting into Chinese the standard books on science, literature, and the arts, and in general every possible effort was made to secure at the earliest possible moment all of the advantages which Western nations seemed to enjoy.

The immediate result of these decrees, as might have been expected, was almost startling. At first the people seemed to accept them with satisfaction. Newspapers sprang up in different parts of the country which rapidly attained a wide circulation. Books on educational, scientific, and religious subjects were published, widely circulated, and read, while societies were instituted everywhere for the propagation of the new learning.

Anxious to secure as rapidly as possible the benefits of suggestions from everyone with progressive ideas, permission was given by the emperor to secretaries and officials of lower rank to memorialize the throne directly through their superior officers. Some of the younger officials, in consequence, as might have been expected, prepared memorials advocating the adoption of measures even more revolutionary than those already proposed and which, if put into effect, would have touched most closely the personal habits of the great masses of the people. For example, a certain Wang Chao proposed the abolition of the queue, the adoption of

European dress, the establishment of a parliament along Western lines, and suggested even that the empress dowager and emperor make a visit to Japan in order to inspect there the results of the adoption of the Western learning. When the older and more conservative members of the government attempted to suppress these memorials, or even, although they were not suppressed, to meet them with counter-proposals and to rebuke the younger men for their rashness, the emperor immediately took the side of the radicals and even went so far as to degrade men of high position for no offense greater than that of attempting to uphold their own more conservative views in opposition to those of the younger men. Among others, Li Hung Chang was accused of opposing the emperor's views, and was dismissed from his office in the Board of Foreign Affairs.

Naturally these extreme measures met with opposition, and that of the most vigorous type. When it became evident that unless some check were placed upon the young emperor, the older officials would lose their positions and might even meet with a worse fate, a number of the more influential ones sent a memorial to the empress dowager calling her attention to the grave dangers which surrounded the empire and urging her personally to take prompt measures to save the country, even if it should be necessary in order to do so to put down the reformers and depose the emperor. One censor, acting with the malcontents, pointed out in detail the dangers which were threatening the country through the introduction of Western civilization, and urged that if the foreign influence continued dominant at court the dynasty would be seriously threatened. He also urged upon the empress dowager the necessity of seizing the government in order to save the empire.

As might have been expected she was personally ready for an energetic movement. A woman of so great ambition as the empress dowager and one who had for many years held the reins of power under the nominal rule, first of her husband and later of her son, was naturally not averse to again taking the position of absolute control which she had surrendered when the young emperor became of age, particularly since these reform measures were directly in opposition to her own views and amounted practically to a censure of her previous administration. Furthermore, however much we may disapprove of the methods employed by the empress dowager, we do not need to question that she may have been acting, in part at least, from patriotic motives, and sincerely believed that the good of the empire was at stake. Even when we question the methods employed by her, we must realize that the emperor himself was employing methods scarcely less censurable. In consequence of the threatening conditions, she summoned a meeting of all the princes, dukes, and nobles of the imperial clan to take up the question of deposing the emperor and removing his advisers.

The emperor soon learned of the opposition to his plans, and knew that if he were to succeed it was necessary that there be removed every possibility of the empress dowager heading the opposition. He therefore turned his attention to the removal of Yunglu, who was known to be in reality the head of the opposition.

Yuan Shih Kai, later governor of Shantung and now the powerful viceroy of Chihli, was then at the head of the northern army and was a man on whom the emperor thought he could rely, as he had been the exponent of many progressive ideas when representing the government in Korea, and was apparently one of the progressive and advanced men in the empire. He therefore secretly sent him orders to seize and behead Yunglu, at that time viceroy at Tientsin; then to come to Peking at the head of his army, to surround the palace of the empress dowager and make her a prisoner. But Yuan Shih Kai, progressive as he is, evidently felt that he had better cast his fortunes with the other side. In consequence, instead of arresting and beheading Yunglu, he showed him his orders and gave him an opportunity to escape. Yunglu went promptly to Peking, sought an audience with the empress dowager, and explained in detail the situation. She went at once in person to the emperor's palace, upbraided him bitterly for his actions, declared that he was but an "unsophisticated child," ordered him to his apartments, and declared that she must resume the control in order to save the empire which he, in his foolishness and rashness, was doing his best to destroy.

The emperor had barely time to warn K'ang Yuwei of the failure of their plans and of his personal danger. K'ang himself escaped to a British man-of-war and was taken to Hongkong. His brother, however, and five of the other reformers were captured and ordered to an immediate trial. Before the formal trial could be held, however, K'ang-yi, one of her most active servitors, presented an edict just issued by the empress dowager which ordered them to instant execution. One of them, Tau Tze-tung, who had been the emissary of the emperor to Yuan Shih Kai, as he went to execution with his friends, in the spirit of the martyr prophesied: "They may kill my body, but for each man killed there will be a thousand others in whom my spirit shall live." Inasmuch as the Manchu customs forbid that swords shall be used within the palace itself, fifty-three of the emperor's eunuchs who were known to sympathize with the reformers were beaten to death, while others who were seized elsewhere were beheaded. Those who escaped had a price placed upon their heads. The emperor, it is said, appealed to the British legation for protection, but without avail. It is even reported that he succeeded in evading the guards of the empress dowager on that night and came alone to the gates of the American legation, asking for protection. The minister himself was not in the city, and the emperor could not gain admittance. At any rate he was ultimately left to the mercy of the court. Some of the empress's advisers, Yunglu among them, urged that he be executed, while others, fearing the effect of such an act upon the people, recommended that he merely be deposed. Completely in the hands of his enemies, the emperor surrendered at once on request the great seal and remained quietly a prisoner at court. Under the great seal edicts were issued canceling the reform edicts providing for the punishment of those who had urged that they be put into effect and instituting a government along the former lines.

The Chinese are very ready, as a rule, to respond to suggestion. When the emperor was pushing forward his reforms, the people, with the exception of some of the reactionary officials whose positions would certainly have been forfeited, were ready to follow his leadership. With his fall and the triumph of the reactionaries, there came about apparently a complete revulsion in feeling. The liberal papers were, of course, promptly suppressed. When the government went further and called attention to the dangers of the reform movement which had just been suppressed and characterized it as a policy led by foreigners against the traditions of the Chinese sages and one which was in essence anti-Chinese, the people responded promptly with an apparent revival of pro-Chinese feeling and hatred of the foreigner and his ways. But although the people were apparently ready enough to give up their reform movement and though, as we shall see, they were seemingly eager

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to join the Boxer movement which was soon started up by the empress dowager and the court for the purpose of "driving the foreigners into the sea," they still did not relish the high-handed proceedings by which the emperor, the Son of Heaven, had been deposed. There was great unrest throughout the country, which was much aggravated by a drought which brought about a famine in certain regions, and this suffering led many of the people to feel that the empress dowager had called down upon the country the displeasure of heaven by her deposition of the emperor. Partly to meet this feeling of hostility, partly to further better her own plans and those of her chief advisers, Yunglu and Prince Tuan, an edict was issued, signed by the emperor, in which it was stated that "finding that there was no probability or even possibility of his having a child, he had besought the empress dowager to select some suitable person to be adopted as heir to the Emperor T'ung Chih." It was also stated that after repeated urging on his part, she had nominated P'u Chün to be the heir-apparent. P'u Chün was a son of Prince Tuan and a boy of nine years of age, so that on his acceptance she would have been given another lease of power until he became of age; but the people protested. Remonstrances came from Shanghai, Siam, and elsewhere, signed by thousands of Chinese, some of them containing threats that they would come in arms to fight in behalf of their deposed emperor if this act were not reversed. So vigorous was the protest that the question of a successor to the throne was dropped, the emperor nominally retained his imperial throne, and as a result of the reversal of the policy consequent upon the Boxer movement, the question has not since been raised.

For the time being the plots of Yunglu and the empress dowager seemed to have succeeded. But emboldened and deceived by the apparent ease of their success, they continued their acts of hostility against the foreigners until they culminated in the siege of the legations in 1900.

Chapter XVI

THE BOXER MOVEMENT. 1898-1903

IN a preceding chapter the seizure of Kiaochow by the Germans has been described, the occupation and leasing of Port Arthur by the Russians, of Wei-hai-wei by the English, as well as of the bay of Kwangchow by the French. There can be no doubt that this occupation of territory by the foreigners, practically by force though under the form of a lease, had produced a profound impression in China, especially among the officials and better read persons of the literary class. Possibly the Chinese who had been educated abroad felt the disgrace to their country and the helplessness of the government more than any others. Nowhere else had the seizure of territory been apparently so unprovoked and so contrary to all forms of international intercourse and all principles of international law as the seizure of Kiaochow Bay in the province of Shantung by the Germans. The occupancy of Port Arthur by the Russians had been under the form of a lease, without military demonstration, and that of the British had been similarly accomplished by peaceful means; but Kiaochow had been seized by force; and though the form had afterward been determined to be that of a lease, the Chinese felt, and with reason, that they had been deprived of the territory by force of arms. It was perhaps natural on this account that the anti-foreign movement should first become most pronounced in the province of Shantung.

Among the many societies which are semi-religious, semi-social, in China, was that of the so-called Boxers, which had been in existence for many years, but which first took on a special political significance under the direction of the anti-foreign officials. A little over a month after the success of the *coup d'état* which placed the empress dowager in power, on November 5, 1898, an edict was issued which ordered the formation of volunteer corps, sometimes called the Righteous Harmony Leagues, and which have generally been identified by foreigners with the Boxers. The former societies had earlier in the century become at one time, under the name of the Great Sword Society, a menace to the peace of the empire; but thereafter in peaceful days it had in many cases done the work of militia. When, therefore, the feeling arose against foreigners on account of their seizure of territory, as well as, it may be also added, on account of the hostility aroused by the railroad and mining concessions granted to foreigners, and at times, it may be acknowledged, the insolent actions of many individual foreigners, it seemed wise to the government to organize a military movement, these bands of militia were found ready at hand. After the murder of the German missionaries which led to the seizure of Kiaochow, the governor of Shantung, Li Ping-Hêng, on the demand of the Germans, was removed. The Chinese Government, however, with its customary methods of carrying out its aims, apparently yielding to pressure, appointed as Li's successor in the governorship Yü Hsien, a man whose career thereafter, as well as before, showed him to be even more bloodthirsty in his opposition to the foreigners than most of the other of the Chinese leaders. With his apparent encouragement and connivance the hostile movement became more bitter. At first the attacks upon the native Christians and foreigners were directed mainly against the Roman Catholics; but soon attacks were made upon all Christians with practically no discrimination. The governor at times called out the troops to aid in the suppression of these outbreaks, but it was evident that the troops had been instructed not to put down the riots; and in the reports to the government at Peking the Christians were regularly represented as the aggressors. The governor, Yü Hsien, went even so far in his hypocrisy as to ask the Board of Foreign Affairs to request the American minister, Mr. Conger, to order the American missionaries to prevent the native Christians from attacking others. In certain cases when the magistrates seriously attempted to keep the peace, they were rebuked by the governor. Even Yuan Shih Kai, who was serving in the province and who throughout the whole movement apparently recognized the advisability of checking the aggressions of the Boxers, was at one time degraded on the charge that he had killed innocent people when he dispersed a band of Boxers engaged in plunder and murder. It was represented that the Boxers were peaceful citizens who were simply drilling in a legitimate way when they were attacked by the Christians.

On November 21, 1898, the empress dowager sent instructions to the viceroys in regard to their dealings with foreigners, urging them in case of any aggressive action to take positive measures of a hostile nature. "It behooves, therefore," the edict ran, "that the viceroys, governors, and commanders in chief join their forces and unite together without distinction of jurisdiction so as to present a combined front to the enemy, exhorting and encouraging their officers and soldiers in person to fight for the preservation of their homes and native soil from the encroaching footsteps of the foreign aggressor. Never should the word peace fall from their mouths."

In May and June of the next year, a personal representative of the empress dowager, the notorious K'ang-yi, already mentioned, was sent throughout the central and southern provinces, ordering the viceroys to form volunteer forces and to contribute money to aid the forces in the north. He is reported to have collected something like a million ounces of silver. In the fall of this year Yü Hsien, the governor of Shantung, distributed arms among the Boxers, and on December 27 issued a proclamation that they might "loot, plunder, burn (any foreign premises), but they must not take life." But within a few days they went beyond these orders, and a group of them, meeting Mr. Brooks, an English missionary, seized him and after ill-treating him put him to death. This seemed to be the culmination of Yü Hsien's misgovernment, although he had already resigned his office, the charges of the foreigners and the pressure of the legations having tardily accomplished this result. He was removed from Shantung, but was shortly afterward promoted to the viceroyalty in the province of Shansi, where he afterward won his disgraceful renown as murderer of the missionaries. On his way to Shansi, however, the empress dowager received him at Peking with every mark of favor, giving him "a breastplate on which she herself had embroidered the word 'happiness.'" His place was filled by Yuan Shih Kai, who had served the empress dowager so well in 1898 at the *coup d'état*. Yuan, however, was a man of a different type. He realized that the Boxer movement was going too far, and he had neither sympathy with their acts nor belief in their claims of supernatural power. Mr. Denby, the former American minister to China, gives a report of his reception of a committee of Boxer leaders which, whether true or not, illustrates well his determined character. When he came to the province he brought with him a large number of troops. This committee of prominent Boxer leaders called upon him to explain their doctrines and to impress upon him their claims of invulnerability.

He listened to them; congratulated them upon their powers, and invited them to dine to meet some of the high officials. They accepted, were introduced to the other guests, and enjoyed a good dinner. Toward the end of the dinner Yuan turned the conversation again upon their mysterious powers, and finally said that an exhibition of their invulnerability would be of great interest to himself and to the other guests, and that of course they would be glad to give conclusive proofs of their claims. He then asked them to step out to the parade grounds where the demonstration would take place. They protested vigorously, but nevertheless were compelled to line up against a wall confronted by his foreign-drilled riflemen. The word to fire was given, and every member of the committee fell dead. Whether this be fact or rumor, so far as the powers at Peking would permit he held well in check in his province, throughout the entire Boxer uprising, the anti-foreign demonstrations.

After the decree nominating the son of Prince Tuan as successor to the throne was issued, the Boxer movement, as was to be expected, spread with great rapidity. Attacks upon foreigners became common not merely in Shantung, but also in Chihli. The Boxer leaders drilled their forces openly throughout the provinces in the villages and towns, and even in the large cities of Tientsin and Peking. The railway employees were attacked; the homes of Christian converts were plundered, and in not a few instances the converts themselves were murdered. Even foreign missionaries in many cases were compelled to take special measures to protect their homes and lives. The missionaries made frequent representations to the ministers, declaring that there was the gravest danger of a general uprising against the foreigners, but the ministers were slow to believe that there was any serious danger. On May 19, 1900, Bishop Favier, of the Roman Catholic Mission in Peking, wrote to the French minister, saying: "The religious persecution is only a blind. The main object is the extermination of the Europeans, and this object is clearly indicated and written on the Boxers' standards." The ministers made new representations to the Foreign Office, but were again put off with excuses and promises. At length, however, they threatened to bring military guards up to Peking, and on May 31 the guards started. The fact that these marines and some other guards, eighteen officers and 389 men in all, came through to the city, was, as events proved, the salvation of the legations. On May 27 the houses and railway station at Pao Ting Fu were destroyed. At Fêng Tai, near Peking, the railroad buildings were destroyed, the Europeans escaping to Tientsin. Two missionaries were murdered at Yung Ch'ing Hsien. The conditions were so threatening at Tung Chow, twelve miles from Peking (the friendly taotai confessing to the foreigners that his soldiers were friendly to the Boxers and that he could not protect them), that a telegram was sent to the American minister asking for an escort of ten marines to take them to Peking. Even at that date he sent no guard, but recommended Chinese soldiers instead. But Dr. Ament, an American missionary in Peking closely in touch with the whole situation, who had but lately returned from a trip to the various mission stations in the province, believing the situation desperate, went alone with sixteen carts to Tung Chow and brought back with him late that night, starting at 3 A. M., twenty-four Americans—six men, eleven women, and seven children—to the comparative safety of Peking. As events showed, a delay of twenty-four hours would probably have cost all their lives.

Although the marines had reached Peking, when, owing to the increased danger, Admiral Seymour started from Tientsin on June 10 with a force of some 1800 marines to the relief of the ministers, he was met by such throngs of Boxers and imperial troops who were well armed and were apparently working together, that the best he could do after he had been surrounded was to hold his own until several days later a relief force was sent to his help, with which he returned to Tientsin on June 26.

On June 11 Mr. Sugiyama, the chancellor of the Japanese legation, was murdered and mutilated in Peking. By the 15th all of the abandoned property of the foreigners, churches, schools, hospitals, and houses, were burned by the Boxers. On the 16th a great fire destroyed some thousands of shops and houses of the Chinese, together with the great superstructure over the Ch'ien Mên gate, to the dismay of many of the Chinese. The loss from this fire alone was estimated at not less than $5,000,000. On the same day the Manchu princes, dukes, and high officials of the boards and ministries held a council at the palace at which the empress dowager urged open warfare against the foreigners to the end. The Manchu princes and nobles practically agreed with her, but the Chinese hesitated before thus declaring war against the whole civilized world, and it is reported that the emperor begged her to pause before undertaking such desperate measures. The result, however, was the determination to fight the foreign powers.

It is fair to note, however, that owing to the danger in the north, twenty-eight men-of-war of the different nations were lying off the mouth of the Pei Ho at Taku. The Chinese, anticipating trouble with the foreigners, attempted to reinforce heavily the forts at Taku. Finally the foreign commanders, learning that thousands of Chinese troops had entered the forts, and that mines were being laid to prevent the landing of further foreign troops, called upon the commander to surrender by twelve o'clock on June 15, under penalty of a bombardment at two o'clock the next morning. At 1 A. M. the forts opened fire on the ships. The bombardment by the ships continued throughout the next day, and at night the forts surrendered. The Chinese Government at Peking, therefore, were recognizing that a state of war actually existed already on the part of most of the nations. Admiral Kempff of the Americans had refused to join the bombardment even though an American gunboat had been hit by the forts.

On June 19 the Board of Foreign Affairs handed passports to the foreign ministers, and ordered them to leave Peking on twenty-four hours' notice; but the hostility of the Chinese troops, as shown by the murder of the Japanese chancellor and by the forcible attacks upon the property of the foreigners, as well as the threats against their lives, had convinced the ministers that it would be unsafe to trust themselves to the Chinese guards if they were to leave their legations, and the murder of Baron Ketteler on the 20th confirmed this view. They, therefore, although they had not been formally notified of the declaration of war, after some preliminary questioning and suggestions declined to accept the proffered escort to Tientsin, but gathered in the British legation, with some thousands of native Christians assembled across a narrow street in the palace of Prince Sü. There were something over 400 foreigners, exclusive of the marines, 350 Chinese, while 2300 Chinese were in the palace of Prince Sü. At first there had been some apparent effort on the part of the Chinese Government to suppress the Boxer movement, and until after the ministers had refused to leave Peking the government pretended that they were themselves opposed to the Boxers' hostile acts. We have already seen, however, that on the 16th they had decided upon war, and on the 17th an edict was issued by the empress dowager, on the advice of Prince Tuan and Yunglu, addressed to the viceroys and governors of the provinces, declaring that the foreign dwellings and doctrine halls were to be consumed by fire; that foreigners, whether officials or merchants, missionaries or converts or the like, all were to be destroyed by torture. "There is to be no pity shown, as that would spoil the great undertaking."

It is thus clear that the intention was not merely to make war upon the legations in Peking, but if possible to exterminate the foreigners through the empire. And yet from the events in Peking there seems to have been some division of council.

On the 20th, as has been said, Baron Ketteler, the German minister, was murdered as he was proceeding to the Foreign Office, and on the same day the Rev. Francis James was killed as he passed along the street near the British legation, in which most of the foreigners were gathered. From that time on the legations were in a state of siege. The walled compounds were fortified as well as possible, but it seemed certain that if the Chinese had attacked with persistency and any reasonable degree of skill they must have succeeded. Persons who were in the besieged legations say that many of the Boxer bullets went over their heads; and it is declared that the Boxers, in their religious frenzy, actually saw at times in the air above the heads of the foreigners legions of spirit troops at whom their shots were directed. At one time they attempted to smoke out the foreigners by setting fire to the great Hanlin library which joined the British legation. They destroyed invaluable treasures of ancient Chinese literature; but the wind shifted and no special harm was done to the foreigners.

The strongest of the anti-foreign ministers were put in charge, K'ang Yi being made grand secretary, Prince Chang, of the hereditary princes, supreme commander of the Boxers, while Prince Tuan was at the head of the movement. The empress dowager as early as June 25 gave to the Boxers a hundred thousand taels, and all of those who apparently favored the foreigners were in danger. Some, like the young Marquis Tseng and the old councilor Wang Wen Shao, advised against war or urged that if war must come, the ministers be spared. Two of the councilors ventured to change the edict of extermination which had been sent to the southern provinces. Hsü Ching-Chên and Yuan Ch'ang ventured to change the words, "consume by fire, destroy by torture," to "strenuously protect." They knew, of course, that their lives were endangered, and sent away their wives and dependents. Later when, on the return of some of her emissaries from the south, the empress dowager learned that the foreigners were not exterminated, their act was discovered. The ministers declared that they "felt that they must save both the court and the populace and secure the realm from calamity, and for that reason dared to alter certain words in the decree. They know that their lives are forfeit for the offense and only supplicate that their households may not suffer the penalty, too. This they deem an act of clemency indeed." The empress heard their petition, smiled, and decreed that they be executed forthwith by being cut in sunder at the waist in the "rotary barrel," reserved for those guilty of high treason.

The battle about the legations went on from day to day, slackening in its severity as the rescue party from Tientsin approached the walls, until on the afternoon of August 14 relief arrived, and the siege was over. On some of the days food, watermelons, and vegetables had been sent to the legations from the Chinese Foreign Office, accompanied by the cards of the officials, and an effort was made at times to make it appear that the government after all had no serious intention of destroying the legations. Even throughout the month of July communications had been held from time to time between the Chinese and the ministers in the legations; but however friendly had been the pretense at times on the part of the Chinese, there seems no doubt that the main intention had been the destruction of all in the legations. It is hard to explain why there was not an attack vigorous enough to succeed; but the casualties were after all numerous. Fifty-four regular soldiers and marines were killed and eleven civilians, while there were wounded 113 regulars and twenty civilians. Of the Chinese converts there were killed nine and wounded twelve.

As the relief expedition entered the southern gate of the city the empress dowager and her court fled from the northern. At first it was not known whither she had gone; but later it was learned that after devious wanderings she had taken refuge in Hsian Fu, a former capital of China, in the province of Shensi. Even before the legations were relieved, Li Hung Chang and the Prince of Ch'ing had been appointed ministers plenipotentiary to negotiate for a settlement. Before Li, who was at Canton, could come to Peking, a second edict had associated with them Yunglu and Hsü Tung.

As both of these had been active in the attempts upon the legations and were known to be extremely hostile to foreigners, it of course could not be expected that they would be acceptable, and finally the first two mentioned conducted the negotiations to a conclusion.

The case against the Chinese Government was very serious. Not only had they violated all traditions of civilized warfare and of international law by their attempt to murder envoys, but they had actually destroyed many millions of property and some thousands of lives. Besides those killed and wounded in Peking, it appears that the Protestant missionaries and their families who were either killed or died as a result of their injuries in this uprising numbered 188 and the Roman Catholics 44. This does not include the native Christians murdered, probably 3000 or more, who, of course, were Chinese subjects but who still had a hold on the foreigners; nor does it include the heavy losses of the relief expedition of Admiral Seymour and the final expedition which reached Peking. The relief expedition which was finally successful consisted of about 10,000 Japanese, 4000 Russians, 3000 British, 2000 Americans, besides a few hundreds of French and German soldiers; and in addition to those killed and wounded in battle many others died from disease contracted in the country. Moreover, the atrocities committed against the missionaries were in many instances of a peculiarly revolting kind. The former governor of Shantung, Yü Hsien, had been transferred to Shansi. When he received the order of the court to exterminate the foreigners, he sent out emissaries to bring to his capital all foreigners captured in order that he might try them. But when they came into his yamên, he, without even attempting any form of trial, himself mounted his horse and set an example to his followers by cantering past his victims and cutting off their heads with his long sword as he passed by.

On the other hand there is to be noted the exemplary and far-sighted conduct of the two great viceroys, Ch'ang Chih-tung and Liu K'un Yi, and perhaps even more striking still that of the acting governor, Tuan Fang, in the province of Shensi. Contrary to the intention of the court, acting on the falsified order to protect the foreigners, they, at great risk to themselves, not only refused to join in the persecution, but vigorously put down any attempt at a Boxer demonstration in their provinces. Liu even went so far as to order his people within doors after dark and had the streets of Nanking patrolled by barefooted guards with orders to punish summarily anyone found outside of his premises without sufficient reason. Tuan Fang gathered the missionaries together into his capital and had them escorted out of the province to a place of safety, even furnishing out of his own means the necessary supplies where they, on account of their hasty removal, lacked the necessaries of life.

Naturally the Chinese plenipotentiaries attempted to secure as easy terms as possible, but Li Hung Chang soon recognized that punishment would have to be meted out to some of the leaders of the Boxer movement, and that heavy penalties must be paid for the outrageous violations of international law and comity. Within a comparatively short time the general form of agreement was reached. Prince Tuan and Prince Kukuo were sentenced to death, but considering that they were of the imperial blood, the emperor was permitted to exile them to Turkestan for life without the possibility of commutation. Yü Hsien, whose bloodthirstiness in both Shantung and Shansi had richly merited the punishment, and two others who had been active in Peking, were beheaded; three others were condemned to commit suicide, which they did; while still others were banished from the empire; and three who had died in the meantime were sentenced to posthumous degradation. On the other hand the martyrs who had been put to death merely for advocating changes in the administrative system had a posthumous rehabilitation of their names and ranks.

It was agreed that the Taku forts and others between Tientsin and the sea should be dismantled; the importation of firearms should be prohibited for a period of years; permanent legation guards might be established, and in addition, incidentally, each of the legations was granted ample ground and the right substantially to fortify. The old Board of Foreign Affairs was abolished and in its place was put a smaller board which should outrank all the others, with the prince who was at the head of the government as the responsible official for dealings with foreign powers. In provinces where foreigners had been murdered the provincial examinations were suspended for five years. Regulations were made for access to the emperor in person, with ceremonies which were satisfactory to the foreigners and not the degrading services earlier demanded. Still further an indemnity of 450,000,000 taels, with interest at four per cent. until paid at the end of thirty-nine years, was agreed upon, the proportion of this indemnity to be divided among the powers in accordance with their own agreement. To express the regrets of the emperor at the assassination of the German minister and the Japanese chancellor, special embassies were to be sent to the respective capitals. All of these matters were included in a protocol formally drawn up and finally ratified on July 23, 1903. The preliminary conditions were signed on September 7, 1901. The long delay in the final settlement was caused naturally by the difficulty of securing detailed information as to damages in the first place, and afterward by the almost interminable discussions among the representatives of the different nations concerned. Russia particularly seemed to wish to appear as the friend of China in opposition to the determination of several of the other powers, although apparently she was willing to take her full share, and as many think an unjust share, of the indemnity. The United States and England, in the judgment of many, were not inclined to insist upon a sufficient degree of severity in the punishment of China for so grave a departure from the laws of nations; but on the whole the settlement seemed to be reasonably satisfactory to all of the powers.

Mention should not be omitted of the fact that during the relief expedition and after the rescue of the legations, while the army of the powers was going through the different parts of the province of Chihli, investigating the conditions under which the different foreigners had been murdered, and in one or two instances on expeditions to punish certain cities for their atrocious murders, many charges were made against the soldiers themselves for their various cruelties. There is no doubt that in many instances the soldiers gave rein to their lowest passions. Property was seized; dwelling houses and palaces were looted; women were outraged; defenseless men, women, and children were at times murdered. The disgrace of such proceedings is not to be distributed evenly among the nations; some were much worse than others, as the Chinese themselves testify. After the capture of the cities of Peking and Tientsin it was noted that the parts guarded by the Japanese, Americans, and British were much more frequented by the natives than those guarded by the others, and apparently these troops were under much better discipline than the others as regards just and kindly treatment of the natives. But there is too much reason to believe that none of the troops were entirely beyond censure.

After the return of the court to Peking its attitude, as well as that of the Chinese people, toward foreigners seemed for a considerable time to be much changed. Not merely was the emperor and the government more easy of approach, as provided by the terms of the protocol, but the temper of the government seemed to have become much more friendly. Owing perhaps more to the personal influence of Mrs. Conger, the wife of the American minister, than any other, the empress dowager and the ladies of the court were led to come into much closer personal relations with the ladies of the legations than ever before, while the personal relations of the Chinese officials with foreigners seemed also to have become much more open and cordial. Moreover, throughout the empire, particularly throughout the northern provinces, the attitude of the common people as well as of the officials seems to have improved. This is doubtless due in part to fear. The Chinese have realized fully the terrible scourge of war as carried on by foreign troops. The officials, the lower magistrates as well as the higher councilors at Peking, seemed to feel for a time the difficulty of denying the wishes of any foreigners; but entirely aside from this forced friendliness there seems to have been in certain regards an added respect for foreign learning and a desire to come into somewhat closer relations. This probably has been mostly due to the recognition on the part both of the common people and of the higher officials, even including the empress dowager, that in the ability to acquire wealth and power, as well as to develop military strength, the Chinese methods of living and the Chinese attitude toward life are vastly inferior to those of the foreigners. Not because the Chinese prefer the foreign ways to theirs, but because they wish to acquire the strength of the foreigner, in order that they may in the future resist foreign aggression and live their own lives as they wish to live them, the Chinese have sought more eagerly than ever before to acquire the foreign learning and the foreign methods of prompt accomplishment of positive results.

Chapter XVII

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR. 1904-1905

ATTENTION was called in a preceding chapter to the contract of Russia to build the Siberian Railroad through Manchuria to Vladivostock, with a branch line to Moukden and Port Arthur. The granting of this concession to Russia by China seemed for a time to be the preliminary step toward the eventual absorption of all Manchuria by the Russian Empire. Although during the peace negotiations over the Boxer troubles, as for some years previous, Russia had posed as the special friend of China, it seemed clear to all unprejudiced observers that Russia's friendship was after all in the interests of Russia, and that the aggressive policy which she had followed for decades in central Asia was to be extended to eastern Asia at the expense of China. It is not necessary for us to consider the question whether Russia was justified in this forward movement or not. Such matters are usually determined by the point of view. It is natural that Russia should seek an outlet on the Pacific for her internal traffic; it is natural that she should wish to reach her seaports by the shortest and best routes; it is equally natural that she should have wished a port open all the year round, like the fortified Port Arthur or the commercial port at Dalny; but her wishes may not necessarily justify her acts. It early became evident when Russia began to build her railways through Manchuria that her purpose would not be attained by the mere building of the road. As the railway extended east and south, so-called railway guards were brought into the territory to protect the line against the Chinese; but these railway guards were soon seen to be regularly drilled and equipped soldiers, and in many cases also these soldiers either became settlers, taking up and cultivating the land near by while maintaining their position as guards, or else with the soldiers came peasants to occupy the land. Manchuria was really held as a military outpost by Russia and was likewise being colonized by Russian farmers.

Not merely, however, was Russia apparently treacherously taking control of Chinese territory, but even openly she took occasion to seize some most valuable possessions. While the siege of Peking was going on a most tragic event occurred at Blagovestchensk. This is a very large and prosperous town on the Amur River, one of the most important centers between Irkutsk and the Pacific Ocean, containing some 40,000 inhabitants. Until July, 1900, about one-fourth of the population were Chinese. Rumors of the events at Peking had gone north and the population became very much excited. Opposite Blagovestchensk itself on the south side of the river was a Chinese settlement. At the time of the siege these Chinese waved banners and beat drums, and it was claimed by the Russian authorities that they were acting as though preparing for an attack. The governor having only a few men, not more than sixty, became alarmed for the safety of the Russians and ordered that the Chinese in Blagovestchensk cross to the south bank. They said that they were willing to do so, but that they had no boats. In reply he ordered them to cross the river within twenty-four hours. When at the end of that time it was found that they were still in the city, though of necessity, he ordered the Cossacks to collect the Chinese, men, women, and children, in bunches and drive them at the point of the bayonet into the river. This was done. In squads the Cossacks marched through the city, collected the Chinese into large groups, marched them to the river, and forced them in. When the people pleaded and shrieked and attempted to come out of the river, they were forced back at the point of the bayonet. For two days this bloody work continued, until eventually, according to Russian sources themselves, some 4500 persons had been drowned. Besides thus exterminating the Chinese on the north bank of the river, when reinforcements came troops were sent across the river into Manchuria. Naturally no one opposed their progress. They destroyed all villages and towns within a distance of some 50 or 60 miles and thus annexed this part of Manchuria to the Russian empire.

These advances of Russia, however, especially the occupation of Manchuria by her troops and her well-known policy of exclusion which would shut the door on foreign commerce, were not looked upon by foreign nations without concern. England and America, of course, feared for their commerce in Manchuria, but with Japan the question was one of far more vital interest. The Japanese had themselves captured Port Arthur and had been forced by Russia to give it up on the claim that "the possession of the Peninsula of Liaotung claimed by Japan would be a constant menace to the capital of China, would at the same time render illusory the independence of Korea, and would henceforth be a perpetual obstacle to the permanent peace of the Far East." When they saw Russia seize the prize which she had compelled them to yield, and saw further that Russia was rapidly strengthening her military force along her railway lines through the heart of Manchuria, they naturally felt that they had not merely been insulted and deprived of their rights by treachery and force, but also that Russia would scruple at nothing to accomplish her purpose of controlling the military situation in the Far East, and that the very existence of Japan was at stake. It was clear that at some time in the not distant future Japan must fight. It very soon became clear that Russia was intending to fortify Port Arthur and make it likewise the chief rendezvous of her fleet in the East. Moreover, although she had declared that Dalny was to be a free port open to the commerce of the world, they thought that she would place such restrictions upon the commerce of foreign nations that they would be seriously hampered in their commercial intercourse with Manchuria. In 1896, therefore, Japan began her preparations and steadily increased them. The war indemnity was used in great part for the increase of the army and navy; the best systems of training were developed, the financial system of the country was put upon a modern basis, and in every way possible, with the most admirable order and completeness, Japan laid her plans for the struggle which she felt to be inevitable.

A glance at the map shows how unavoidable the struggle was, provided Russia continued her policy of expansion. Japan, by her control of the Tsushima Straits between Korea and Japan, was in a position to separate the Russian forces at Vladivostock from those at Port Arthur. This was a condition which a great military nation like Russia could not view with equanimity. On the other hand Japan had long had a partially recognized claim to Korea. Large numbers of Japanese had settled in the south of that country. The restricted area of Japan made it very desirable for the Japanese to have the peninsula of Korea into which they might expand by colonization, while the control of Korea by a hostile nation like Russia would clearly block any plans of expansion on the part of the Japanese, and might very well threaten her independent existence. The war was inevitable from the point of view of the Japanese. The only question was that of the date.

At the time of the Boxer troubles in China, Japan had promptly sent the largest number of troops to suppress the outbreak, and her troops had on the whole proved the most efficient of any in China. Russia had seized the first opportunity to withdraw her troops and to attempt to strengthen her position with China. She had by her massacre at Blagovestchensk secured a part of the Chinese territory on the Amur River. Moreover, just at the time when the other nations were employed in China she applied to Korea for the lease of the port of Masampo, on the southeastern coast of Korea, a port immediately opposite Japan, and so close that its possession by a hostile power would be a source of the greatest danger. The Japanese Government naturally protested most vigorously, so vigorously in fact that Russia thought it best not to insist. When it was announced by Russia after the massacre at Blagovestchensk that she was making of the Amur River an internal waterway, thus declaring her intention of seizing all of the southern bank of that river, then Manchurian territory, protests were naturally made, and Russia was requested to withdraw her troops. She made the formal promise that the troops sent into Manchuria for the protection of the railway would be withdrawn as soon as lasting order had been established, "provided that the action of the other powers does not place any obstacle in the way of such a measure." Instead, however, of making any effort toward withdrawal, more troops were sent continually into Manchuria and the fleet at Port Arthur was steadily increased. Admiral Alexiev, in November, 1900, wished to make an agreement with the Tartar-General of Moukden, in charge of the government of Manchuria, to administer the government "under the protection of Russia," the understanding being that Chinese soldiers were to be disarmed and disbanded, whereas the Russian troops were to be provided with lodging and provisions and put in occupation of all forts and defenses which were not dismantled. It was declared that Newchwang and the other places would be restored to China when the Russian Government was satisfied that the pacification of the province was complete. "A Russian political resident with general powers of control was to be stationed at Moukden." Japan, England, and the United States all protested, as Newchwang was a treaty port in which all were interested, but Russia still attempted to secure special privileges in mining in Mongolia and central Asia. The Chinese seemed to have little power of resistance except as they were backed strongly by Japan, England, and the United States.

Events seemed to be tending so strongly toward the absorption of Manchuria by Russia and the consequent sacrifice of England's interests as well as those of Japan, that on January 30, 1902, a treaty was signed between Great Britain and Japan which strengthened greatly the position of both powers and gave Japan a much freer hand. The treaty declared first the peaceful intentions of both countries; but the gist of the matter lay in the statement that if in the event of war with any power a third power "should join in hostilities against that ally the other high contracting power will come to its assistance and will conduct the war in common and make peace in mutual agreement with it." That is to say, if war should break out between Japan and Russia, let us say, England would come to the aid of Japan provided any other country joined with Russia. This naturally placed Japan in a much more favorable position in her protests against the Russian advances.

In April, 1902, as the result in part perhaps of the strengthened position of China on account of the friendliness of the other powers and the strengthening of the relations between Japan and Great Britain, a treaty had been made with China by which Russia had agreed to withdraw her troops. The evacuation began shortly and continued slowly for a time, but later the movement was stopped, and the Russian troops seemed once more to be moving in increased numbers into Manchuria. Again, some years earlier a concession had been made by the emperor of Korea to a Russian lumber company to cut the timber in a certain region on the banks of the Yalu River near the port of Yongampo. Here again the Russians seemed to be taking advantage of their position and to be establishing military posts.

Japan saw in this, too, a deliberate attempt on the part of Russia to get control of Korea, and being at length, as events proved, fully ready for war if war must come, Japan decided to take up the matter of the relations of the two powers in Korea and Manchuria. In July of 1903, therefore, Baron Komura, the minister of foreign affairs, approached the Russian Government with reference to the settlement of the questions at issue. The terms of the discussion do not concern us here excepting so far as they show the attitude of the two powers toward China and her interests. Until the China-Japan War Korea had been considered as an appanage of China, but that war had made it independent. The first propositions made by Japan on these points were: (1) that the independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea should be mutually respected, and that the principle of the open door in both countries should be preserved; (2) that Japan's interests in Korea and those of Russia in Manchuria should be recognized, both powers being at liberty to take such measures as might be necessary for the protection of their interests, subject to Article I.; (3) that both should be at liberty to promote their industrial activities in their separate spheres of influence without interference, but that Russia should not oppose the connection of the Korean and Manchurian railway systems. Neither was to employ force excepting to protect its special interests, while Russia was to recognize the exclusive right of Japan to give advice to Korea. The Japanese Government let it also be understood that it was ready to recognize and define the special interests of Russia in Manchuria growing out of her railway rights. It was willing to recognize Russia's right to administer a strip of territory thirty miles on each side of the line.

In Russia's reply no statement was made about Manchuria except that it was to be recognized by Japan as outside of her sphere of interest. On the other hand Russia insisted upon some very careful restrictions regarding Korea. She was apparently wanting a free hand in Manchuria without granting a free hand to Japan in Korea, evidently intending to absorb Manchuria. Russian officials in Peking and military men in Manchuria in conversation at times inadvertently referred to Manchuria as "our territory," it being perfectly evident that Russia had no intention of withdrawing from that country. Japan believed that the predominance of Russia in Manchuria without any restriction would eventually lead to predominance of Russia in Korea also, and that was felt to be fatal to her interests. After repeated delays on the part of Russia and further interchange of notes with no apparent likelihood of reaching an agreement, Japan finally broke off negotiations on February 5, 1904, recalling her minister from St. Petersburg, and giving the Russian minister at Tokio his passports on the 6th. On the 8th her fleet surprised the Russian fleet in Port Arthur, and the war had begun.

At the suggestion of the United States near the beginning of the war, it was agreed by both parties that the active operations should be limited to the territory occupied by the Russians in Manchuria and lands necessary for the Japanese in reaching such territory, Korea, while the integrity of China should otherwise be respected. Although there were repeated charges of the violation of this agreement on the part of Russia, there was no noteworthy departure from it. The success of the Japanese arms was rapid and apparently complete. The Russians were defeated in many smaller engagements, and in the two great battles of Liaoyang and Moukden; while on January 7, 1905, the fall of Port Arthur gave the Japanese a military prestige almost unequaled in history. Her destruction of most of the Russian fleet in Port Arthur gave her a great advantage, and the destruction of the second Baltic fleet on May 28 left Russia practically without war ships and made Japan easily the dominant power. Negotiations for peace, opened through the intervention of Theodore Roosevelt, the President of the United States, were concluded on September 5.

As a result of the war China is apparently eventually to regain Manchuria. Both Japan and Russia engage "to evacuate completely and simultaneously Manchuria, excepting the territory affected by the lease of the Liaotung Peninsula, and to restore entirely and completely to the exclusive administration of China all portions of Manchuria now in the occupation or under the control of the Japanese or Russian troops, with the exception of the territory above mentioned."

Both countries agreed not to obstruct any measure common to all countries which China may take for the development of the commerce and industry of Manchuria.

Russia cedes to Japan with the consent of China the lease of Port Arthur, Dalny, and the surrounding territory, with the public works and properties concerned.

Russia cedes to Japan also the railway from Port Arthur north to the main line of the Siberian road to Vladivostock. Both Japan and Russia are to use their respective railways in Manchuria exclusively for commercial and industrial purposes, excepting that in the Liaotung Peninsula.

Both parties to the war agree to commence the withdrawal of their military forces from Manchuria immediately and to have them completely removed within eighteen months, although both reserve the right to maintain guards to protect their respective railway lines. The number of guards, however, are not to exceed fifteen per kilometer, and the commanders of the two armies shall agree to make the number as small as possible.

The treaty was formally ratified on October 14.

At the close of the war the Chinese Government asked to be admitted to the peace conference in order that her rights might be protected; but both Russia and Japan objected, and the treaty was made independently. It was explained, however, that this refusal was in no way hostile to China, but that it would be necessary for the two countries concerned to deal separately with China on that question.

Even before the close of the war a new treaty between Great Britain and Japan was signed, on August 12, which affects the future interests of China in a noteworthy degree. In the preamble it is stated that one of the objects of the treaty is the preservation "of the common interests of all powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China." The fact that the treaty involves also the harmonious action of the two powers with relation to Korea and India as well as China, and that, in case of aggressive action, if either party is attacked by other powers, the second contracting power will come promptly to the assistance of the first, makes this article regarding the integrity of China much more significant than it otherwise would be.

On December 21, 1905, Japan and China signed a treaty for the final adjustment of the Manchurian problems after the war. In substance the provisions are that Japan will occupy the same position in Manchuria that Russia did before the war, except that the principle of the open door will prevail and that Japan will presumably not adopt so aggressive a policy as did Russia. Although the treaty has not yet been published it is thought that the substance of the convention gives China the right to repurchase the railway taken by Japan from Russia; that meantime Japan will be permitted to maintain the railway guards and to garrison its consulates at the treaty ports provided. The residence of the Japanese and their banking shall be restricted to those places. The customs hitherto collected by the Japanese at Newchwang will be restored to China; the military government notes issued by the Japanese are to be redeemed as rapidly as possible, and the Japanese shall surrender their military administration when they evacuate Manchuria. It is thought possible that China has consented to make some other valuable concessions to Japan in recognition of her defense of the interests of China during the war, but as the treaty has not yet been made public, the above statement is only a very probable outline made by Dr. Morrison of the London *Times,* whose information is almost always trustworthy. Negotiations between Russia and China covering the same questions of the situation to be recognized after the war are now under way.

On the whole, China certainly has reasons to congratulate herself on the present situation in Manchuria, her position being much better than she had any right to hope for at the beginning of the year 1904.

During the years 1903 and 1904 a series of disputes between Great Britain and China arose over the situation in Tibet. By the conventions of 1890 and 1893, Yatung, in the Chumbi Valley, on the frontier of India and Tibet, was opened for trade. According to the statement of the Indian officials the conventions had not been well observed, and during 1903 the Indian government dispatched a commission under Colonel Younghusband to secure their observance. A force of soldiers under Brigadier General Macdonald accompanied them as an escort. The Tibetans did not welcome the mission, but openly resisted their advance, there being severe fighting at several places. The mission, however, proceeded to Lhasa, reaching there on August 3, 1904. The Dalai Lama, the supreme ruler, had fled, but the Amban, the representative of the suzerain Chinese Government, was present, and after considerable negotiations a formal treaty was signed by all the leading officials and representatives present, the seal of the Dalai Lama being fixed by the regent in charge on September 7, 1904. Tibet agreed to establish markets at Gyantse and Gartok in addition to the one at Yatung. Tibetan and British officials were to be stationed at these markets, and Great Britain agreed to alter any objectionable features in the convention of 1893. Tibet agreed to pay Great Britain 500,000*l*, ($2,500,000), payable in seventy-five yearly installments. Great Britain is to occupy the Chumbi Valley for security for carrying out the treaty. Of greater importance, however, is the agreement of Tibet to demolish all the forts between the Indian frontier and Gyantse on the trade routes, while most important of all is the agreement of Tibet "not to sell, lease, or mortgage any Tibetan territory to any foreign power without the consent of Great Britain and not to allow any foreign power to concern itself with Tibetan affairs or to construct roads or railways or open mines in Tibet." By a later agreement the British Government decided that the amount of the indemnity should be reduced to 166,000*l.* ($830,000), and that the period of occupation of the Chumbi Valley should be limited to three years.

The special international significance of this settlement of the Tibetan question is the apparent security which Great Britain has against the aggressive action of Russia, it having been generally supposed that Russia had succeeded in winning the sympathy and liking of the Dalai Lama, and that her intention was to push further into Tibet, as she had done in the other parts of the Far East. This agreement also probably affords to China a reasonable security against seizure of Tibetan territory, although the country will be opened up.

Chapter XVIII

THE PRESENT SITUATION. 1906-1910.

THE indirect results of the Boxer movement, together with the stimulus afforded to China by the noteworthy success of Japan in the adoption of Western methods in industrial and military advance, have been remarkable, and at present indicate a complete reversal of China's former conservative policy. The movement toward military education and the equipment of an army, begun before the Boxer outbreak, has been continued with better judgment but with no less energy since the settlement of these troubles. Although China agreed not to import arms—the decrees to cover two-year periods till the powers were satisfied—her arsenals have been kept busily at work.

In January, 1905, a plan of gradual organization of the army was laid down by imperial decree, to be commenced immediately and to be completed in 1922. Recruitment is on the voluntary principle; the terms of service are ten years, three in the active army, three in the reserve, and four in the territorial. The Japanese system of training is followed. The men in the territorial army are called out for exercise every other year for thirty days, and those in the reserve for the same period every year. The artillery is organized in regiments of three divisions, each of three batteries and six guns; the cavalry in regiments of three squadrons, each of four troops; and the infantry in regiments of three battalions of four companies. The peace strength of batteries is 100 to 130, of squadrons 224, and of battalions 504. A division consists of two infantry brigades, each of two regiments, with a cavalry regiment, a battalion of engineers, and an artillery regiment. There are about 10,000 men on a war-footing. It is intended that there shall be eventually thirty-six divisions, divided into two armies—the Northern army and the Southern army. The Green Flag troops, the Chinese militia, was reorganized by an edict issued September 15, 1907. They are now under control of the Minister of War and are all to be uniformly armed in each province and formed in battalions of three companies and squadrons of three troops. Their duties in peace are much the same as before, but in time of war they pass under the command of regular officers, although they cannot be employed beyond the boundaries of their own province.

In the treaty of September 5, 1902, with Great Britain, China agreed to establish a new uniform monetary system, to provide for the proper recognition of trademarks, as well as to protect in full the business and personal interests of foreigners. An imperial decree was issued in October, 1908, commanding the introduction of a uniform tael currency, of which the unit must be a silver tael coin of 98-touch weighing one K'up'ing or Treasury-scale tael or ounce. This standard tael weighs 575.82 grains and has a value fluctuating between sixty and eighty cents. A decree for uniform weights and measures was issued October 9, 1907, making the Treasury-scale the standard weight. In the tariff settled by treaty with Great Britain, the ch'ik of 14 1-10 English inches was adopted as the legal standard, and the use of this standard has become common at all treaty ports.

Before the Boxer outbreak a very valuable railway concession, that from Hankow to Canton, had been granted to an American syndicate, one condition being that the concession should not be transferred to citizens of any other nationality. Owing, however, to difficulties arising at the time of the Boxer troubles and to the death of the American chiefly interested, the leading stockholders became discouraged, and, partly as a speculation, sold the controlling share of the stock to the king of the Belgians, retaining for a time the nominal title to the stock and the American officers of the corporation. When the sale became known, however, the Chinese Government protested vigorously, and at length, after months of protest and negotiation, decided that it would declare the franchise forfeited, as the terms under which it was granted had not been observed; but before this action was taken, a majority of the stock was bought back by Americans. The dissatisfaction, however, had been so great that the Chinese, acting under the leadership of Viceroy Ch'ang Chih-tung, finally agreed to buy back the entire concession from the Americans at a figure which gave the latter a large profit. The viceroy, in order to secure the road, borrowed heavily from the Hongkong Government on conditions which practically turned over the concession to the British and Japanese. Although the Americans were ousted, the viceroy was very severely condemned by many of the Chinese for not retaining a more complete hold as against the foreigners.

Even more bitter was the feeling and more severe the actions of the Chinese against the Americans in connection with the United States Chinese exclusion act. In December, 1904, the Chinese exclusion treaty with the United States expired by the denunciation of the Chinese Government in accordance with the terms of the treaty; and the Chinese minister in Washington was instructed to take up with the American Government the question of the formation of a new treaty on lines more favorable to the Chinese. In accordance with the interpretation of the American Government, the former treaty provided for the exclusion of all Chinese excepting certain exempted classes, such as students, merchants, travelers, and officials. Leading Chinese claim that at the time the treaty was made they had thought that the terms excluded only their laborers of the coolie class and that all other persons were admitted, the classes enumerated being merely illustrative examples. It is said that the Chinese interpretation of the treaty justifies that version, but the American Government has held otherwise. There seems little doubt, on the one hand, that the American officials have at times administered the law most rigidly, and that Chinese students and gentlemen of standing, as well as their wives and relatives, have been treated with grave discourtesy and have often been put to extreme discomfort. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Chinese of the coolie class have evaded the law by thousands either through impersonation of the exempted classes or by connivance with Chinese officials or by bribery of American officials, and thus have secured entrance illegally into the United States. Even some Chinese officials have admitted informally that probably half the Chinese in the United States to-day are here illegally.

Many of the young Chinese who have studied abroad, especially those who have studied in America, have been greatly incensed at the apparent indignity cast upon their nation by excluding its citizens from the country. Although the real reason has been primarily the protest of the laborers against the efficiency of the Chinese which makes so severe a competition, together with a fear of another race problem of serious moment, the Chinese have naturally, perhaps, assumed that it was an attack upon their character and an under estimation which in the eyes of Americans made them less worthy immigrants than Europeans.

They wished to have the treaty revised in such a way as to admit all Chinese except the class of laborers, which class should be carefully defined. When, owing to the difficulties of negotiation, the treaty was not signed for a period of several months, and when it seemed likely that the treaty might not be signed at all, a boycott against American goods was declared at Shanghai and at other places by the merchants. It is said that the boycott was led by a Chinese merchant who had himself suffered mistreatment in the United States, that it was supported by the young and enthusiastic Chinese students, and that from time to time, at any rate, the movement was encouraged by foreign merchants, especially Japanese, who thought that their trade might be improved if American products were excluded. President Roosevelt expressed himself strongly, long before the boycott was declared, in favor of a treaty along the general lines indicated by the Chinese, but it has not as yet become apparent that such a treaty would meet with the approval of the government. Moreover, the demands of the boycotters went at times far beyond the lines indicated. After some nine or ten months had passed, the boycott began to gradually die away; in some places the change was brought about apparently by government action, in others by losses of the Chinese merchants.

Early in 1906, a most noteworthy step was taken in sending to foreign countries two important commissions headed by most able and cultivated administrative officials, to study foreign politics and institutions, social, educational, and economic, with the idea of giving to China a more advanced government. On September 1, 1906, the emperor issued an edict promising a constitution as soon as the people were ready for it, and urging the necessity of developing the scope of public instruction, improvement of the financial system, reorganization of the army and the establishment of a regular police force. Considerable impetus was given to this movement in 1907. In the following year decrees were issued commanding the formation in each province of consultative assemblies to be elected by the people. A decree issued on August 27, 1908, announced the convocation of a parliament and the proclamation of a constitution in the ninth year from the date of that decree.

Without the necessary experience or acquaintance with foreign methods, the government has already made serious blunders in its attempted reforms. This is most clearly apparent perhaps in the effort toward monetary reform and toward the management of their educational systems by ill-equipped Chinese who have had but scanty foreign training. In many instances the government students in Japan have been given the so-called rapid course in which they are expected to cram Western learning within a very short time. The Chinese scholars who have been trained in America, say, for example, that the Japanese at times give the same degree for a year's work that an American university will give in not less than four or five years.

On May 25, 1908, the Congress of the United States passed a resolution remitting part of the indemnity due the American government from China according to the bond of December 15, 1906, as "an act of friendship." In return China sent one of her ablest statesmen, Tang Shao-yi, as a special ambassador to the United States to formally thank the government. Ambassador Tang was also commissioned by his government to study constitutional procedure and financial methods in the United States.

In November, 1908, occurred almost simultaneously the deaths of the emperor and the empress-dowager. The official announcement gave the date of emperor's death as November 14, and that of the empress's as the next day, but it is believed by those familiar with the etiquette and ceremony of the Chinese court that both deaths took place some considerable time previous to the official statements. On November 15 was announced the accession to the throne of Prince Pu-yi, the three-year-old nephew of the late emperor, under the title of Hsuen Tung. The new emperor's father, Prince Chun, became the regent until his son should attain his majority. On December 3, 1908, a decree was issued affirming that of August 27.

Early in April, 1909, a new citizenship law became operative which forbids under severe penalties Chinese subjects to become naturalized in any other country. Two considerations dictated the passage of this law: the first was to preserve the dignity of China before the world, for now when any country denies the right of naturalization to Chinese, their home government can reply that China herself does not permit expatriation of her subjects; the second reason was that as China is building up her military system, she can thus prevent any wholesale expatriation to avoid military duty.

During the year 1909, American diplomatic relation with China increased in importance. American bankers desired to participate in the loan for the building of the Hankow-Sze-Chuen Railroad, an extension of the Canton-Hankow line. They based their claim upon assurances given the American Minister to Peking in 1904 by the Chinese government that both American and British capital would be invited to finance this railway. The intention of the bankers to participate in this loan was communicated in June by the American representatives abroad to the governments of Great Britain, France and Germany, who had already contracted for the loan. In July it was definitely decided that the Americans should share in the loan, they to have one-fourth and the other three-fourths going to British, French and German interests. In addition Americans were to have an equal oportunity to supply material for the main line and all its branches, to appoint subordinate engineers, and to share in all future loans.

About the middle of the year 1909, Russia and China drew up a convention, giving Russia the control of the municipalities along the Russian section of the Chinese Eastern Railway. By this means Russia would gain absolute control of the railway. Against the ratification of this treaty the United States protested, claiming that it was a violation of the "open door" principle.

Diplomatic relations between Japan and China were near the breaking-point in the summer of this year. Japan wished to widen the gauge to the standard and to generally alter the construction of the Antung-Mukden Railroad, claiming a right to do so by the terms of the Peking Treaty of 1905, which says that "China agrees that Japan has the right to improve the Antung-Mukden Railroad so as to make it fit for the conveyance of commercial goods of all nations." But on September 4, a treaty between the two nations was signed at Peking in which China agreed: (1) Not to construct the Hsinmintum-Fakumen Railroad without consulting Japan. (2) In the event that the Kirin Railroad be extended to the Korean border half the capital required will be borrowed from Japan. (3) Japan is to have the right to work the mines in the Fushun and Yentai districts. (4) Japan will construct the extension of the Yinkow Railroad. (5) There shall be joint exploitation of the mines in the zones reached by the Manchurian and Antung-Mukden Railroad lines. (6) China agrees to open four trade marts in the Chientao district, between Korea and Manchuria; the Koreans living therein shall be under the jurisdiction of Japan, while those residing outside the marts shall be under the jurisdiction of China, except that Japan shall have the right to hold court in cases calling for the infliction of the death penalty. (7) China agrees that Japan move the station of the South Manchurian Railroad to Mukden.

In consideration of these concessions, Japan agreed: (1) To recognize Chinese sovereignty in the Chientao district. (2) That the terminus of the Hsinmintum Railroad be the city of Mukden. (3) To indemnify the owners of the Fushun and Yentai mines.

There is liable to be trouble between Russia and China because of the former's determination to interfere in the administration of Manchuria, China resenting Russia's policy to the extent of protesting on December 5, 1909, to the powers with regard to it. The most important matter before the Chinese government at present (1910), is that with regard to Macao, the little four miles square Chinese seaport, occupied by the Portuguese. China made formal complaint to Japan, in the latter part of 1909, that it was violating the Manchuria telegraph convention, thus showing that she does not propose to allow any infringement upon her rights by other powers.

China at present is clearly in a state of great unrest. The spirit of progress is fully aroused. Its manifestations are often unwise, but although there may be serious mistakes and even revolutionary outbreaks from time to time, there seems every reason to believe that China will, in the not distant future, press forward toward a better condition. With her enormous resources and with the ability and training of her people, there can be no doubt that when this movement shall have become normal, China will have become one of the great world powers.

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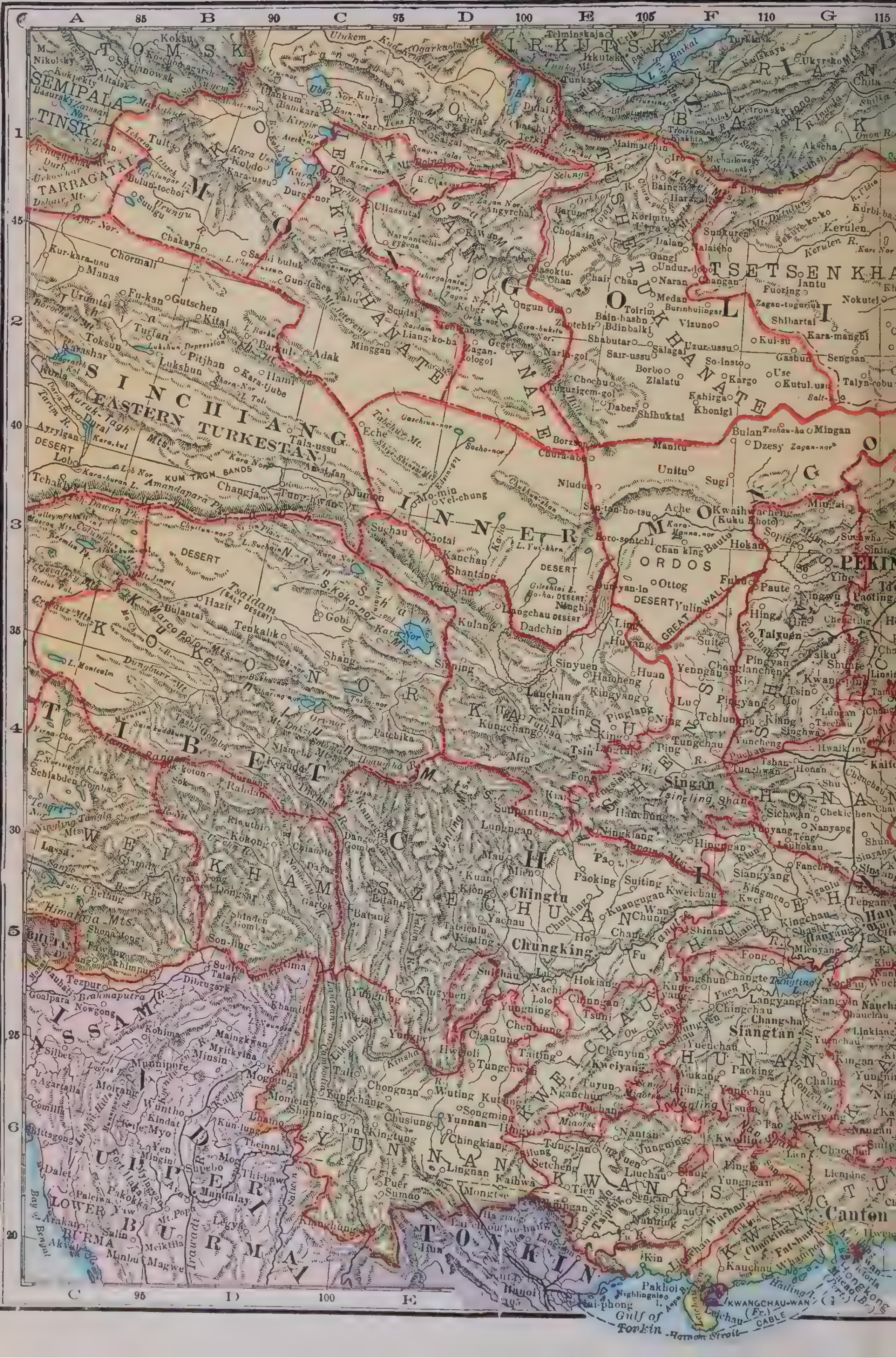

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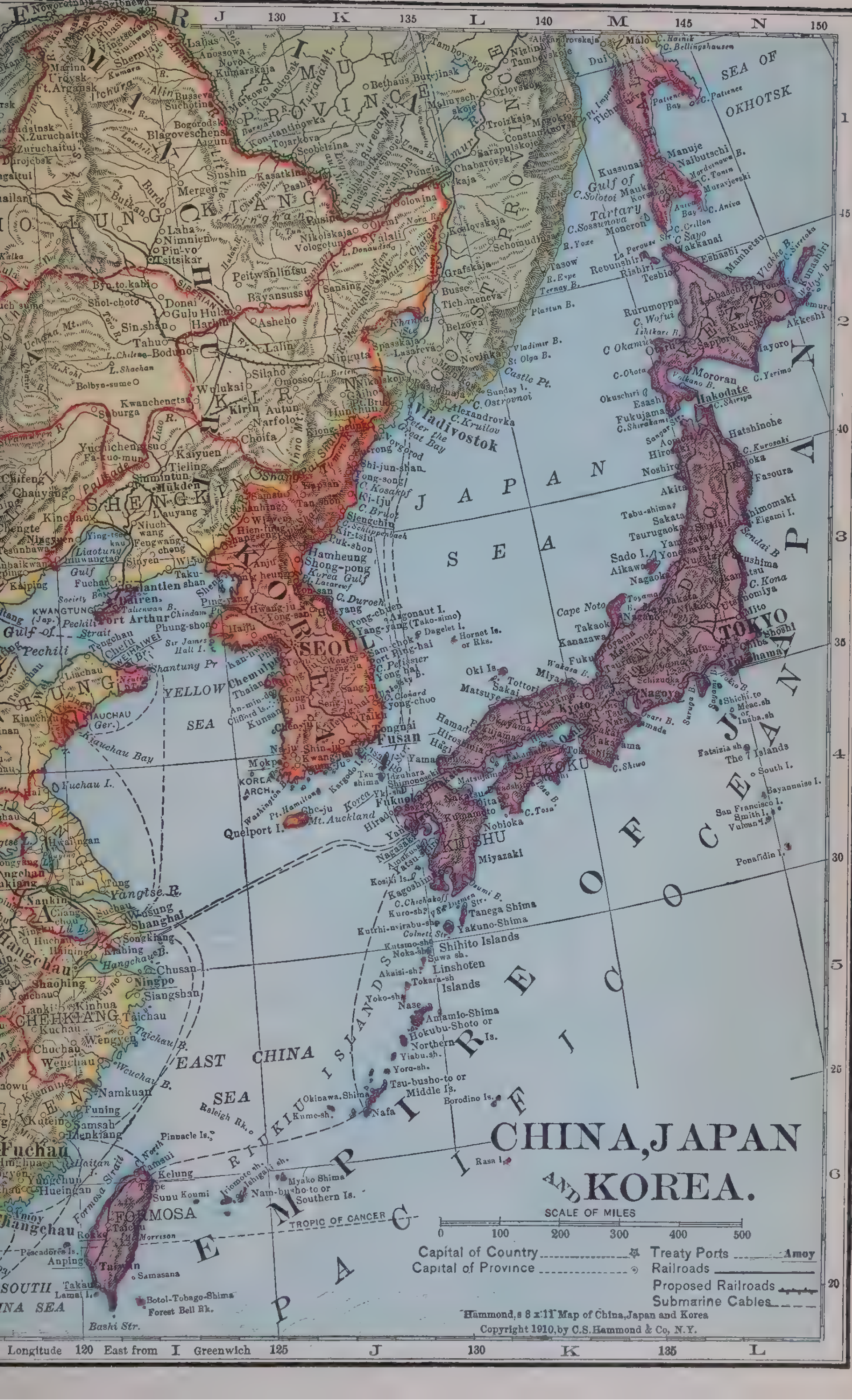

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